# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-94-046* *9 March 1994*

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### Berov Suffers Heart Attack; Matinchev Named

*AU0803151594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] At the start of the news, I will repeat once again the announcement from the Council of Ministers Press Center:

At 2 AM on 8 March, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov suffered a heart attack, following which he was admitted to the Lozenets Hospital of the Military Medical Academy in Sofia. After the doctors had held a consultation, it was decided that it was necessary to admit him for in-patient treatment.

It was announced later that Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev will fulfill the duties of prime minister while Professor Berov is undergoing medical treatment.

### New Cabinet Office Chief Appointed

*AU0803203094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Report by Kalina Stancheva]

[Text] As we have already informed our listeners, under an order signed by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev will replace him during his sick leave.

One of the first decisions made today by acting Prime Minister Matinchev is connected with a personnel change. Mr. Bakov, who until now has been in charge of the Council of Ministers General Office, has been relieved of his post and replaced by Dimitur Khristov, who previously served as an official in the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare.

### Berov 'Stabilizing'; Rumors Denied

*AU0903095294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 9 Mar 94*

[Text] Esteemed listeners, governmental spokesman Raycho Raykov is on the telephone to provide us with details on Prime Minister Berov's health condition:

[Raykov] Good day to you and the listeners. A short while ago I had a telephone conversation with Professor Petrov, head of the Military Medical Academy, who informed me that after a thorough checkup and examination today at 0800, the medical team of the Military-Medical Academy's Lozenets Hospital in Sofia established that the condition of Professor Lyuben Berov, who suffered a heart attack yesterday, is slowly stabilizing. The basic symptoms of the heart attack have been overcome, and the patient is in good spirits.

There will be a news conference with the Lozenets Hospital medical team at the Governmental Press Center at 1400 today regarding the health condition of Prof. Lyuben Berov.

With your permission, I would like to add something. I want to officially deny the nonsense—to put it mildly—published in some of today's newspapers regarding the prime minister's condition. I would like to invite correspondents to the news conference to learn about the prime minister's condition. Apparently some of them would like the prime minister to be in much worse condition than he already is.

One more thing: No one has been fired at the Council of Ministers. A newspaper today even claimed that Georgi Nedev, the chief of the Prime Minister's Office, was fired yesterday. I want to deny this report. Nothing similar has happened, and I hope nothing will happen because the government is functioning normally. The prime minister's scheduled meetings with representatives of various Bulgarian and foreign institutions will be carried out by his deputies. As you know, the prime minister yesterday signed an order according to which, during his sick leave, he will be replaced by Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev. Thank you very much.

### Ministry Acts on Rakovski Legion Petition

*AU0903094794 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5-6 Mar 94 p 2*

[Editorial report: "Petition of Legion's 'Agitators' Stirs Defense Ministry"]

[Text] The petition of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officer Legion, regarding the inadequacy of the military budget adopted by the National Assembly one week ago, prompted meetings and discussions at the Ministry of Defense.

Minister Valentin Mikhaylov sharply reacted to the petition and in a 28 February letter to the initiators he stressed that the legion's activists have crossed the limits of democracy, and that agitators will not be tolerated in the Army. On the same day the president discussed the situation in the Army with his military advisers.

On 1 and 2 March the leadership of the Ministry of Defense had a working meeting with commanders and officers from the 1st, 2d, and 3d Armies, the Press Center of the Ministry of Defense announced on 2 March. Later, at a "special meeting," the ministry's leadership and the General Staff discussed the issues posed at the meeting related to the structural reform in the Army, the officers' wages and housing conditions, and the everyday life of the soldiers.

The same issues have been repeatedly posed in the past by the Rakovski Legion which, in recent weeks, energetically insisted on adopting the 37-billion-leva military budget requested by the General Staff. The parliament voted only 12 billion leva for defense needs.

Despite the limited budget possibilities, the defense minister ordered that proposals be prepared on resolving the most acute problems.

The Press Center of the Ministry of Defense noted that "violations of the military regulations and discipline on the part of certain officers," were discussed at the meeting. However, the written announcement does not indicate whether the petition's initiators will be punished.

## Commentary Sees 'Divorce' in SDS Leadership

*AU0903112094 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 2 Mar 94 p 6*

[Georgi Asyov commentary: "Divorce Continues"]

[Text] Skirmishes between extremists and pragmatists, and between phantom leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and its parliamentary faction, continued at the 1 March meeting of the SDS National Coordinating Council. It is well-known that a divorce is inevitable; the question is what side will get most of the inheritance—the property and constituency of the SDS.

At the present stage of the divorce proceedings it appears that Filip Dimitrov and other leaders affiliated with him have the upper hand. They will probably succeed in establishing the bive [SDS] party, which many people have wanted for a long time. It is precisely this side to the divorce that is pressing for an extraordinary national conference, because they know that the delegates from the local branches will demand new elections, hoping to become parliament members.

Naturally, this variant does not excite the Democratic and Radical-Democratic Parties. The result will probably be an even greater emancipation of the SDS parliamentary faction vis-a-vis the SDS National Coordinating Council, which claims to lead it. This is the reason that the Radical-Democratic Party launched the idea of holding a "national meeting," rather than a conference. Such a meeting will be attended by elected officials (mostly National Assembly members and mayors, in other words, people who are not in a hurry to part with their mandates).

Against this background it appears that the talks proposed by the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] would be impossible or at least, certainly futile. On the other hand, one could not exclude the possibility of "separate" agreements between the DPS and certain more moderate SDS leaders and parties.

## Publication of PODKREPA Daily Halted

*AU0903094594 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5-6 Mar 94 p 1*

[Valeriya Mikhaylova report: "Konstantin Trenchev Closes PODKREPA Daily"]

[Text] The Executive Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation adopted a decision on "temporarily" stopping the publication of the PODKREPA daily as of 2 March. The decision was explained by the trade union's activity related to restructuring its information-publishing activity.

An announcement of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation's Press Center indicates that the Executive Council has declared a partial liquidation of the PODKREPA daily as a separate department of the confederation. The effective date is 2 March 1994.

The decision on the newspaper's going into liquidation was adopted against the background of the conflicts that developed between the newspaper's editorial board and the leadership of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. More than one month ago Dr. Trenchev openly expressed his dissatisfaction with the information published by the newspaper. Margarita Vurbanova, PODKREPA's chief editor, was fired. PODKREPA's journalists accused the confederation of refusing to pay their wages and royalties. Informed sources claim that the newspaper will begin to appear in a new format, and that it will be financed by powerful economic groups.

## Ministry Expected To Ban Sale of Arms to Iran

*AU0903102194 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 4 Mar 94 p 2*

[Article by "km": "Diplomats Will Apparently Not Permit Arms Manufacturers To Sell on the Iranian Market"]

[Text] The possibility that the RDP Group of Czech arms manufacturers could negotiate exports to Iran of repair technology for the T-72 tank is apparently not very likely.

RDP Group Director General Jan Vlcek asked Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy to make the political decision whether his company may enter the Iranian market. Minister Dlouhy, according to his spokesman Kamil Cermak, is awaiting, however, the stance of Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec and Defense Minister Antonin Baudys.

A source from diplomatic circles, who does not wish to be identified, told MLADA FRONTA DNES yesterday that the Foreign Ministry intends to honor international obligations and, on principle, not export arms to high-risk regions. Although Iran is not among the countries to which the sale of arms is banned, many countries consider Iran a very high-risk region. "After all, the situation in Iran is not calm and clear. It is in the interest of the Czech Republic not to support armament in this region," the diplomat added.

"The RDP Group does not want to export tanks to Iran; it has never even considered it. The consortium discussed the possibility of supplying repairs technology for these tanks," RDP Group press spokesman Jiri Vich specified. The planned deal with Iran should revive some stagnating enterprises. The expected financial volume of this order, which should be filled over five years, allegedly amounts to $0.5 billion.

The RDP Group even founded its own bank, TOPFIN. By means of this consortium of small and medium-sized banks, the arms-manufacturing company should finance its production and business transactions.

## Arms Deals, Possible Lobby Viewed

*AU0903083194 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Mar 94 p 8*

[Article by Petr Dudek: "The Future: Pressure of Arms Lobbies"]

[Text]

### Light Arms Are in Greatest Demand

The Czech Republic cannot boast of having the most perfect arms systems, but this does not matter in today's world of war conflicts. On the contrary. A British paper, THE ECONOMIST, quotes the annual report of the Stockholm International Peace Institute (SIPRI), according to which only light weapons were used in the approximately 30 wars last year.

Sophisticated arms systems (such as those used by the Western allies in the Persian Gulf war) are in the arsenal of the armies to divert inimical neighbors from possible intentions to launch an attack. The combat in Bosnia, Azerbaijan, and Angola, as we can see on our television screens, is conducted with light arms, not the most modern ones. Rifles, machine guns, and minesweepers used today may have been used in World War II.

Illicit dealers find potential partners in countries of Central and East Europe. These countries are traditional arms producers, and their newly established market economies do not abound with foreign currency. How does the Czech Republic control the export of these goods?

### Industrial Circles Can Deal With Whomever They Want

At present, the government interferes in the negotiation process at a stage where the deal is about to be concluded and not before. In fact, Czech enterprises can negotiate contracts as they want, with the risk that the export license for a specific case may be refused. The state administration is invited in only when the deal is about to be concluded. The affair surrounding the RDP Consortium Group shows where these practices may lead.

As of 1 April, a new law on foreign trade in military material, approved by parliament recently, will come into force. According to this law, an enterprise will only be allowed to enter the arms market with a license issued by the Ministry of Industry, which will be issued after consultations with the Foreign Ministry, the Interior Ministry, and the Defense Ministry.

The RDP Consortium Group is one of the best known entities on the arms market in the Czech Republic. The weekly RESPEKT no. 8/94 carried information on the intention of the consortium to export, in cooperation with the Skoda factory, military technology, including surface-to-surface missiles and spare parts for T-72 tanks, to Iran—that is, into a politically and militarily very unreliable country.

By being reluctant to state their clear opinion on the case, official places have shown that the RDP Group intentions are not something that should be discussed publicly. Vladimir Dlouhy, minister of industry and trade, announced to CTK on 22 February that no one had negotiated the deal, and he refused to comment on it. All of this activity was initiated by Czech industrialists. "The Ministry of Defense will not approve of exports to any country that is politically inappropriate," Defense Minister Antonin Baudys told LIDOVE NOVINY on 4 February on the subject of the possible export of Czech arms to fundamentalist Iran. At the same time, he admitted that industrial circles may negotiate with whomever they want.

Lubomir Soudek, director general of the Skoda factory and a member of the RDP Group Presidium, criticized the publicity the case had received and indicated that, if the intentions of the Skoda factory do not materialize, it could cause higher unemployment. Does that mean that the RDP will export the arms to Iran?

Dr. Bretislav Gregr is the responsible official from the Ministry of Industry and Trade who decides on granting the final license (in the form of an administrative decision), after preliminary discussion with appropriate ministries. "The problem of the export of heavy arms to Iran is quite hypothetical because the Czech Republic is not a manufacturer of these products. I personally believe that, as long as the situation in Iran remains unchanged, our country will not step out of the line of countries that are carefully considering the possible international impact and will not export military technology to that region," he told LIDOVE NOVINY on 22 February, and he added that he did not expect that he would have to decide the RDP Group proposition in the near future. Nevertheless, should such a situation arise, Dr. Gregr believes that it is "difficult to imagine" that he would give his consent.

**Wandering Kalashnikovs**

In Europe, the parties engaged in the Yugoslav conflict feel the shortage of arms of all kinds. Irrespective of the embargo, arms are flowing into the former Yugoslavia from all directions. Estimates for 1993 speak about military material worth some $2 billion. Arms of various origin are being smuggled into former Yugoslavia. They are coming from at least as many countries as there are countries forming the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. "It is useless to even ask from where this or that Kalashnikov has come," Canadian Colonel Oehring, commander of the South Sector in Croatia, told LIDOVE NOVINY last week.

During the real or faked transactions, the most remote countries can play the role of the country of destination. The Czech Republic could quite easily become a source of arms for the battlefields in Bosnia. A strong enough lobby promoting arms exports could manage it. Can such a pressure group appear in the Czech Republic? "The trade in arms is linked to important financial profits, and this is why it is possible to imagine a situation where the most important arms companies could acquire an increased influence on the state administration (as the signals from the RDP Group have indicated). However, the newly adopted law will be able to sufficiently resist the pressure from possible lobbies," Dr. Gregr says.

## Klaus on Talks with UK's Major, EU Membership

*LD0803203594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Regular Tuesday interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondent Lucie Weissova in Great Britain; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Weissova] Our interview is taking place in Great Britain. You are halfway through your visit and many meetings are still ahead of you. However, I would like to ask you to tell us something about the significance of your visit and to assess the talks you have held so far, above all your talks with Prime Minister John Major.

[Klaus] [passage omitted] So far we have not had many official contacts at the highest state level with Great Britain. [passage omitted] Thus our visit is filling this vacuum. It is necessary to leave a mark here. [passage omitted]

Simply, it is necessary to represent the Czech Republic here. I think that this is a never-ending process that is important because it is continuing and never-ending, rather than because of one specific result of one specific action. This is the purpose of such visits.

Our talks with John Major concentrated, of course, more on international political phenomena than on bilateral relations. There is no significant political, economic, or any other problem in relations between the Czech Republic and Great Britain that we should put an end to, resolve, or put right. I think the fundamental things, fundamental necessary agreements, are in existence. We have formed the legislative basis for our relations. Thus, the Cabinets have done what they should have done and might have done, and now it is the turn of micro subjects—i.e., citizens, entrepreneurs—to make use of the created space.

We spoke about external issues, about foreign policy. As far as John Major is concerned, the subject of Bosnia dominated [our talks], without doubt. This is so because Great Britain, as we are well aware, was a bit less vocal when those strong ultimatums were being issued by NATO, laying stress on the land forces rather than an air attack. However, it has seized the initiative now and is strongly emphasizing the land forces, strengthening its contingent there, seeking support for this kind of activity. It was not by chance that John Major opened our talks by speaking about this.

[Weissova] Prime Minister, Hungary announced last week that it would submit an application to join the European Union by the end of April. You reacted by saying that the Czech Republic would do the same when it was ready. When do you think we are going to be ready? I am not asking about the time but about the conditions that we will have to fulfill.

[Klaus] We all know that the question of our entry to the European Union or NATO is not about how quickly we file our application. We hope no one is deluding himself into thinking along these lines. [passage omitted]

[Weissova] Do you think we might wait for such a long time, for 20 or 30 years?

[Klaus] Certainly not. Norway's experience was specific. [passage omitted] This is not our case. Time runs faster now. [passage omitted] I would say we have already

succeeded in one go to overcome all world records. In 1990, when I was finance minister, I organized the readmittance into the International Monetary Fund. [passage omitted]

### Parliament Members Meet Slovene Chamber Chairman

*AU0903094494 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 4 Mar 94 pp 1-2*

[Article by "cer": "A Good Sign for Czech-Slovene Cooperation"]

[Text] Prague—Herman Rigelnik, chairman of the State Chamber of the Republic of Slovenia, described the two-day visit to the Czech Republic he started yesterday as a continuation in the development of the very good relations between the two states.

Following its arrival in Prague, the Slovene delegation talked with the Chamber of Deputies chairman and Deputy Chairman Karel Ledvinka, who also took part in the working lunch at the seat of the Chamber. Milan Uhde and Herman Rigelnik expressed their shared interest in the drafting and adopting of a framework Czech-Slovene Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation. Further, Milan Uhde assured the guest of the Czech support for the Slovene endeavors to join the European structures.

The chamber chairman declared that the smooth running of the talks regarding the Czech-Slovene agreement on a free-trade zone is a good sign for cooperation between the two countries. After the joint working lunch, Chamber Deputy Chairman Karel Ledvinka told a CESKY DENIK correspondent the following:

"The chairman of the Slovene parliament is an economist like myself, so we had something to discuss. The reception by Chairman Uhde was conducted in the spirit of cooperation between the parliaments and cooperation in the sphere of culture.

"At the lunch, we dealt with the economic development indicators for both countries, assessed the progress of privatization, and mutually clarified the budget problems. We agreed that, after the meeting with the president, which will be dedicated to the questions of foreign policy, and the talks between the delegation and the finance minister, we will again meet for lunch. Chairman Rigelnik invited us to visit Slovenia, and an impulse also came from the Slovene side for closer cooperation between our Foreign Committees. The treaty between the two countries that the Foreign Ministry is preparing according to a new model will play a significant role in the awareness of Slovenia in the Czech Republic."

### CSSD's Zeman Views Career, Political Scene

*AU0703192494 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 2 Mar 92 p 7*

[Interview with Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party, by Jiri Leschtina; place and date not given: "Meeting the Government Halfway Would Be Political Suicide"]

[Text] Milos Zeman, a year after he was elected chairman of the Social Democrats, is still embarrassing not only his opponents within his own party, but also those who helped him to come to power some time ago. Some of his people are asking if his strong antigovernment course of action makes any sense at all, and they are disquieted by the declining election preferences for the party. Milos Zeman, who threatened that his arrival as head of the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] would become a tragedy for the rightist parties, does not allow, in an interview for MLADA FRONTA DNES, any questioning of his work as head of the CSSD:

[Zeman] Politics is a long-distance race. It is measured not in months but in years. We will become a dangerous opposition to today's conservative government, as dangerous as the Labor Party is to the Conservatives in Great Britain or the Social Democrats to the Christian Democrats in Germany.

[Leschtina] After you were elected you said that your party would flood parliament with legislative bills. Where are they?

[Zeman] We presented a bill to abolish the senate and one on conflict of interests. In a short time, we will be presenting two bills—one on territorial division and one on the obligation to prove one's source of income and property.

[Leschtina] This is not a formidable flood of bills. Moreover, according to information available to us, the bill on the conflict of interest has not been presented to parliament yet.

[Zeman] Your information is not correct. We have already presented the bill to committee, and we are now holding talks with the Civic Democratic Alliance on whether we can come up with a joint draft. Otherwise, I admit that our original idea to establish a team of well-paid experts whom we need to draft individual sections of the law has been abandoned because our coffers are empty and we have debts. Owing to our lack of funds, our original intentions have been curbed but not changed.

[Leschtina] You have promised to disclose a number of privatization affairs, including the "violation of the law by the Civic Democratic Party." Can you give an example to our readers of a case in which you have caught the Civic Democratic Party violating the law?

[Zeman] We have presented dozens of these. For example, the Aero Holding affair, which was presented

by Deputy Kraus, the Plzenske Pivovary [Plzen Breweries] affair presented by Vaclav Grulich, the affair surrounding the buildings of the Research Institute of Agricultural Technology belonging to a religious order.... I could continue....

[Leschtina] They are cases that have been discussed in the press. Have you yourselves come up with evidence that the Civic Democratic Party has violated the law?

[Zeman] The opposition can only suggest that the cases that had been revealed be sorted out. We have suggested several times, always in vain, that a parliamentary commission be established. We have submitted a report to the Control Office. Our party is not a detective agency able to discover all of the violations of the law in all the minute details.

[Leschtina] As long as you say that the law has been violated, you can initiate criminal proceedings at the Office for Investigation. Why did you not do so after you had said that Communist Party of Czechoslovakia property was used, to a certain extent, to finance the election campaign of the parties with a strong anticommunist program?

[Zeman] You are asking me to assume the role not only of a detective office but also that of the prosecutor general, which has been abolished, by the way. A political party may express suspicion that the law has been broken and present supporting arguments.

[Leschtina] What arguments can you bring to support the suspicion that one of the rightist parties financed its election campaign using some communist property?

[Zeman] We are willing, of course, to present evidence, if parliament deals with the problem. Specifically, this case happened in North Bohemia.

[Leschtina] You are not going to tell us more?

[Zeman] Our sources are from former inspection authorities. You will certainly understand that I do not want to say anything specific because we would be unable to acquire more information.

[Leschtina] Very often, in connection with the Civic Democratic Party, you say that we have, once again, one-party rule. The Civic Democratic Party, however, is working in coalition with three parties and is unable to push for anything without their support in parliament.

[Zeman] I do not want to dramatize the situation, but I do realize that there is a significant difference between the situation after and before November 1989. Nevertheless, if I have to use your arguments, I must say that even the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did not have an absolute monopoly. Other government parties shared power, at least formally.

[Leschtina] Are you then comparing the Civic Democratic Party and other coalition parties to the powerless members of the National Front?

[Zeman] I am not saying that the two things are identical, but I am saying that pushing for only one acceptable alternative means limiting the democratic space.

[Leschtina] In the annual report you presented to the Central Executive Committee of the CSSD in January, you said, among other things: "Zhirinovskiy's relative success may finally have opened the eyes of those who have been idealizing our right-wing parties and refuse to see their inclination toward authoritarian, and, in extreme case, fascist, forms of government." Do you believe that our right-wing parties have fascist tendencies?

[Zeman] I was building on Mr. Kotas's statement some time ago that the more right-wing that people were, the better. With my sentence I am reacting to the idea that the more right-wing I am, the more democratic and open I am. Josef Kudlacek, the publisher of CESKY DENIK, is of the opinion that we should become even more right-wing. I was trying to use the proof by contradiction. If you amplify a certain trend, which has authoritarian forms in our country, you can demonstrate its extremes. The fascist form is such an extreme. Mr. Kudlacek or the Republicans are certainly extreme right-wingers.

[Leschtina] These gentlemen are not in government. Does that mean that you do not believe that the government parties have fascist traits?

[Zeman] Our coalition is being accused of having authoritarian inclinations. However, I cannot exclude the possibility that, if some representatives from the ruling parties—I mean mainly their fundamental wings—found themselves facing a difficult situation, they would show fascist traits. On the other hand, I firmly believe that those who describe themselves as pragmatists will win within these parties.

[Leschtina] How do you explain that the continued growth in your party's popularity has halted and declined, according to recent polls?

[Zeman] As I said, without money, successful politics cannot be conducted for a long time. Almost everything is done on the basis of voluntary work in our party, and this is why we often react with a certain delay, and—I have to add self-critically—we often lack expertise. By cooperating with a team of qualified experts, we can become a more efficient and aggressive opposition. I do not need to remind you that the popularity of our party is better than Mr. Lux's party, which has 85,000 members and whose chairman we can see constantly on television.

[Leschtina] On the other hand, the Civic Democratic Party still has the support of two-thirds of the population. What is the reason for that, in your opinion?

[Zeman] People have the feeling, thanks to coupon privatization, that they have become rich owners, and they are expecting fat dividends, which makes them satisfied with the government. However, the enterprises

that thousands of small owners are unable to control are facing a gradual downturn. When the people sober up from their illusions, from the dream that every little old lady in the Orlicke mountains has become a minicapitalist, as Tomas Jezek [National Property Fund chairman] put it, they will turn away from the Civic Democratic Party.

[Leschtina] Are you sticking to your statement that our coupon privatization is the fraud of the century?

[Zeman] I am convinced that it will soon become clear that the feedback that has been severed between the owner and management will lead to a decline in output in a large number of our enterprises. From this viewpoint, the statement about the fraud of the century holds.

[Leschtina] Are you not underestimating the intelligence of our population when you say that 80 percent of the nation has swallowed the bait?

[Zeman] The Bolshevik concept of nationwide ownership is not very remote from the idea of coupon privatization, and the majority of our population swallowed it in the past. We cannot argue by saying that, if the majority agrees with an idea, this is sufficient proof of its correctness. We would then have to accept the absurd fact that Hitlerism was correct because almost 80 percent of the population agreed with it.

[Leschtina] Those are dangerous comparisons.

[Zeman] You cannot infer from this that I am comparing the existing regime to Hitlerism—God forbid! I am only describing, using a drastic example, that majority approval may be meaningless.

[Leschtina] Are you suggesting that your party's strategy should be based on the fact that people are somewhat retarded, but they will realize it, and one day they will understand the avant-garde management of the CSSD?

[Zeman] I have never said anything like that. We are not visionaries, we are not turning away from today's problems, and our reactions—to the security situation, for example—testify to this fact. Apart from that, we are trying to react to problems that do not seem topical to a number of people, but soon will be. A classical example of these problems is unemployment, a problem that is dismissed by the majority but that will become a topical problem tomorrow. We are preparing specific programs to deal with unemployment now.

[Leschtina] Recently, your adviser Oto Novotny came up with a document saying that the Social Democrats cannot become successful in the long run through a confrontational strategy and by criticizing the government without giving it credit for its successes. How does the man who has become a celebrity because of his statement "we must go for the government's throat" react to this document?

[Zeman] The case of Mr. Hirs and many others shows that a policy that would meet the government halfway is political suicide for the opposition parties. Every day the opposition must vehemently criticize errors by the government, its conservatism and its monetarism. Monetarism ceased to be a topical issue in economic science a long time ago. This is what other social democratic parties in Europe are doing, in any case.

[Leschtina] Their criticism is specific and does not go beyond the borders of elementary political culture, which cannot be said of some of your statements.

[Zeman] Look, U.S. President George Bush once said that his dog Millie understood foreign policy better than Bill Clinton. I do not see any reason to use less juicy statements than a politician who, unlike us, lived in the milieu of the traditional Western culture for 40 years.

[Leschtina] Some CSSD members are afraid that Zeman's antigovernment bigotry will become an increasingly large burden on his party on a political scene that is stabilizing. Will your election for leader of the CSSD become a tragedy for the CSSD?

[Zeman] First, I do not believe that our political scene is stabilizing. The constant deterioration of the economic situation will lead to political unrest. As regards my future: Sartre wrote that the truth about yourself becomes the genuine truth only after it is understood by others. I would like to add that the truth becomes the genuine truth for a politician only when it is understood by the electorate.

## Details on Military Education Provided

*AU0903091994 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 3 Mar 94 p 2*

[Article by "kch"-signed: "Speculations Damaged the Military Academy"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Vladimir Vetchy, chairman of the trade union organization at the Brno Military Academy, specified that experts of a productive age have been leaving the school, influenced by distorted information about its coming closure. An association was even organized to find immediate employment for them in the civilian sector under advantageous financial conditions.

The representatives of the Military Academy also denied reports yesterday about the students at the newly opened Air Force and Air Defense Faculty using Brno airport. The training of Brno pilots is to take place in Pardubice.

The Infantry Military School in Vyskov will specialize in the preparation of lower level commanders, and the third military academy in the Republic is the Military Medical School in Hradec Kralove.

## Official Discusses Housing Ownership Changes

*AU0903094694 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Mar 94 pp 1, 9*

[Interview with I. Prikryl, chairman of the Union of Czech and Moravian Housing Cooperatives, by Vladimir Cechlovsky; place and date not given: "Including Transformation Norms in the Housing Law Is Neither Legally Clean nor Decent"]

[Text] [Cechlovsky] Recently, when commenting on the proposals by the [government] coalition deputies that other cooperative property be included in the transfer of cooperative housing units [to private ownership], you said that it would lead to the liquidation of many cooperatives. These deputies, however—O. Fejfar (Civic Democratic Party), for instance—categorically refused this view. Do you insist on it?

[Prikryl] Yes, I do. Following the adoption of the new statutes, which the Transformation Law of 1992 compelled the cooperatives to accept, most of the cooperatives' property was included in an indivisible fund. If it is now enshrined in the law that the member of a cooperative also has the right, when taking over the housing unit, to have that part of the property that is registered in the indivisible fund paid out, it really can lead to the liquidation of the cooperative. As a matter of fact, such a liquidation can also be initiated by the court. To pretend that nothing is at stake and, at the same time, beyond the framework of the proposal of their own coalition government, try to include fundamental transformation norms in the housing law is neither legally clean nor decent.

[Cechlovsky] So, you are against a further transformation of housing cooperatives?

[Prikryl] The transformation of housing cooperatives took place in the past, and precisely according to instructions. Another question altogether is whether the instructions called for a lot or a little. Nonetheless, the actual responsibility for the results is borne by the deputies of the then Federal Assembly. They are basically the same ones as those who are dissatisfied today and submit additional proposals. If, today, the coalition deputies do not like the result of the transformation of cooperatives, they certainly are free to request another transformation. We consider it appropriate, however, that such an intervention has the form of an amendment to the transformation law, the Commercial Code, and the law on banks.

[Cechlovsky] Why?

[Prikryl] It is a guarantee that the eventual change is implemented responsibly. After all, no parliament—and that includes this one—it is not a simple matter to alter the Commercial or Civic Codes, which belong to the pillars of the legal system in any advanced country.

[Cechlovsky] That is the legal side of the issue. The deputies are reasoning for urgency, however, by, among other things, numerous letters from the cooperative members, and, by extension, that a further transformation is in the interest of all members of the cooperatives.

[Prikryl] As long as it was not self-help construction by the members or nonresidential premises in cooperative buildings, like various shops, stores, offices, etc., in 90 percent of cases they were financed solely by the state and not by the members of the cooperatives. In these instances, I do not see any reason that several individuals should grab these nonresidential premises. They should remain in the ownership of the cooperative, and the proceeds should support the cost of housing of all members of the cooperative.

[Cechlovsky] Without any exception? What if these nonresidential premises are a burden for the people living in the given house because, for instance, there is noise, etc.?

[Prikryl] That is something else. In such an instance, we would agree that the nonresidential premises be transferred to co-ownership of the people in the building. It is necessary, however, to individually assess whether that is the case. In case of a conflict, even before a court.

[Cechlovsky] What about the other nonresidential premises, the cost of which the cooperative members in the given building shared?

[Prikryl] It is quite clear there. We have no objections regarding their transfer to the co-ownership of the people in the building.

[Cechlovsky] The deputies are proposing and will probably approve a compulsory transfer of the housing units from the ownership of the cooperative to the ownership of the members. How do you feel about that?

[Prikryl] Frankly, this stipulation does not worry us in the least. If I decided to do something voluntarily earlier, it cannot trouble me when the state orders me to do it by law. Personally, however, I cannot come to terms with the parliament again showing disrespect for the ownership rights. After all, it is inexcusable to expropriate a legal person to benefit its shareholder. It is a dangerous precedent.

[Cechlovsky] The fact is that the transfers of cooperative housing units stopped....

[Prikryl] It is not through any fault of ours. The housing cooperatives wanted to transfer the units and did a lot for that purpose. The transfers were stopped by the Czech Land Register and Surveying Bureau that reasoned for this by not having a legal basis for making the entry in the real estate register. This lapse is to be eliminated by the currently drafted law on housing ownership.

[Cechlovsky] To own a housing unit is not the end. Someone must maintain it and take care of its administration. A cooperative member may not feel comfortable in a large cooperative. What will you offer to these

people? Should they not have the opportunity, after all, to secede from the cooperative even with a share of the cooperative property.

[Prikryl] There is a better solution—namely, that individual self-administrative units emerge from the original cooperative, which, however, remains functional. The new units would then take care of the entrusted housing units, thus bringing the ownership closer to the people while being able to use the services of the original cooperative.

[Cechlovsky] How would this benefit the people?

[Prikryl] The principle of cooperatives is a service to the people. They will not have to take care of everything, and the cost will be relatively reasonable. Take the energy aspect of our housing, for instance. There are many houses that should have been built in North Africa rather than here because their insulation would be more appropriate there, are in desperate need of repairs: a thermal treatment of the encasements and roofs, and reconstruction of the housing cores. The people in an individual building are not always able to take care of this all by themselves. Nonetheless, there is also just the ordinary caretaking in the building. If the cooperatives were eliminated and each member got with his unit, say, 3,000 korunas—it would hardly be more—it would not be of much help. For this money, nobody would take care of the houses for long.

[Cechlovsky] The individual buildings can, however, leave the cooperatives right now. They do not need any complex legislation for that....

[Prikryl] Yes, that is true, but there still are certain barriers. The secession of the self-administration would result in the transfer of property, and that means paying taxes. Thus, the taxes must be eliminated first. Furthermore, the secession of any self-administration must be approved by the plenary session of the entire cooperative. The transformation means that a decision by the self-administration would suffice for leaving the cooperative. No outsider could prevent it. Such a solution is virtually identical with that demanded by the coalition deputies, but it is a pragmatic one and not a politically impulsive one.

## Contents of Defense, Security Doctrines Outlined

*AU0903121194 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 7 Mar 94 pp 1-2*

[TA SR report: "Slovakia Supports the U.S. Presence in Europe"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Government approved at its most recent session pioneering material drafted by the Defense Ministry and submitted by Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak. This material contains the Slovak Republic Defense Doctrine, which incorporates a set of official principles and views on the Slovak Republic's defense, preventing war, the structure of the Armed Forces, and the means of conducting an armed struggle in defense of the state. Asserting Slovakia's national interests, with the aim of guaranteeing its territorial integrity and the inviolability or unchangeability of its internationally recognized state borders, is among the fundamental principles of the Defense Doctrine.

In its Defense Doctrine, the Slovak Republic avows that, under no circumstances, will it either precipitate an armed conflict or initiate one against another state. According to the doctrine, the Slovak Republic will not condone the propaganda of war and armed force, terrorism, chauvinism, fascism, race and class hatre , or national and religious intolerance. Slovakia will not give up its right to take part in establishing collective security and therefore will strive to join NATO and the Western European Union (WEU).

Apart from the Defense Doctrine, the Slovak Government also approved other important material drafted by the Defense Ministry—the Principles for the Slovak Republic's National Security. This document was drafted in cooperation with the Interior Ministry and the Foreign Ministry.

The principles establish a political, legal, and methodological basis for the Republic's national defense system. At the same time, they represent a systematized series of general objectives in issues such as the sovereignty of the state, territorial integrity, and Slovakia's equality, and in guaranteeing the citizen's basic rights and freedoms. Binding international documents, the Slovak Constitution, and recommendations and information from analyses of the security systems of comparable European states were endorsed in the drafting of the Principles for the Slovak Republic's National Security.

Slovakia's security is an element of the broader framework of European and global security. The Slovak Republic relies on its own forces. However, at the same time, it places emphasis on establishing new international relations. In its objectives, it is counting, first and foremost, on NATO, the WEU, the CSCE, and the United Nations. Slovakia considers stable, conflict-free, and correct relations with its immediate neighbors to be an important aspect of guaranteeing its national security. It is interested in activity within the Visegrad Group and the Central European Initiative.

The Slovak Republic is aware of the need for equilibrium in its relations with all European states. At the moment, it is achieving this aim by means of bilateral treaties. It is also aware of the positive role filled by the U.S. presence in Europe and is in favor of its preservation.

## HZDS, SDL Leaders Continue Talks

*LD0803230394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has been holding talks with the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] within the context of its coalition agreement with the Slovak National Party [SNS]. HZDS Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik said this after today's joint session of the HZDS and SNS parliamentary groups in Bratislava. At the same time, he said that they would not exclude an agreement with the SDL with regard to stabilizing the Cabinet for a certain limited period or until the elections, regardless of whom the HZDS was in coalition.

Answering a question regarding whether a cancellation of the coalition agreement with the SNS and concluding a new coalition with the SDL are being considered, Kozlik said that they had not looked at this issue from this point of view.

In this context, Miloslav Kona, chairman of the SNS parliamentary group, expressed the conviction that the SDL would change its stance on refusing a coalition with the SNS while its chairman is Jan Slota.

Commenting on the alleged offer of the presidential post to the SDL by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Kozlik explained that, during a free debate outside the framework of the official HZDS-SDL talks, it had been noted that it would not be impossible for the HZDS to imagine an SDL candidate for the presidential post. However, this was not discussed as an actual offer.

The parliamentary groups of the coalition parties also discussed individual points of the agenda of the session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, which will open on 9 March.

## Ministers Air Budget, Czech Border Issues

*LD0803232594 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2005 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[From the "Pressclub" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Good evening, esteemed television viewers. As usual on Tuesday, you can watch a live relay of the Pressclub roundtable about topical issues discussed by the Cabinet. I welcome the Cabinet members who are here to brief us on the 86th Session of the Cabinet—Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Julius Toth, and Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Prokes. [passage omitted]

Mr. Minister, the Cabinet's original agenda for its session about two weeks ago included the issue of [word indistinct] a memorandum to the IMF. Could you explain what this document is, what the issue is?

[Toth] I cannot tell you much detail because the document has not been discussed. [passage omitted] It is not so much the issue of making stricter some criteria we agreed upon in December. As you know, the deficit of our state budget has been a bit higher than what we agreed on. A certain responsibility is felt, a certain fear has emerged that we might fail to keep this year's budget within the planned framework, though we have explained that our criteria are totally different from those of last year. As you all remember, in March 1993 our budget deficit had already reached 11 billion korunas; we do not expect such a dynamic development this year. Our economy has become, to a certain extent, clear, and we know its outlines. We are not engaged any more in drafting a new tax system, and I hope we will not have to do so in the next 50 years. This means that our macroeconomic conditions are different.

However, IMF experts, like all good bankers, always have worse times in mind. This is why our views on this issue were controversial, that two of us held different views.

We believe that, provided we keep the budget criteria according to our original agreement, we will not have to take any further, more serious, measures. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified journalist] Prime Minister, a report by the Slovak-Czech border commission was heard by the government today. It emerges from this that the only controversial point, in fact, is Kasarnie. It would appear that this question should be discussed by the Czech and Slovak prime ministers. I talked about it today with Minister Tuchyna, who said that there was nothing controversial, that everything was but Czech conjecture and everything was in fact all right. What would you say about the situation that exists on the Czech-Slovak border?

[Meciar] It is about setting frontiers. A border line is being sought so it may run along natural features—for example, waterways: along the center of a waterway, or along mountain tops. Since the Morava River has been canalized, the flow of the river has been somewhat simplified and Slovakia lost 120 hectares. We are asking the Czech side to compensate for this loss by increasing the territory from the Czech Republic in other places that have been discussed and proposed, as compensation of territory in the interests of balance. If this is not the case, naturally, the river would in some places flow only on the territory of the Slovak Republic.

Another demand that came from the Czech side was aimed at a part of the Sidonia settlement, specifically 11 houses in the village of Horne Srnie in the district of Trencin, belonging to the Czech Republic. We had a petition of citizen inhabitants, the majority of whom asked to be citizens of the Czech Republic and for the territory to belong to the Czech Republic. There has been a proposal of compensation for this territory by another part of Sidonia, which has not been accepted by the government.

So, the situation is a little more complicated here in that Sidonia should also have been the subject of compensation, but it will not be.

The third aspect concerns Kasarnie, where the original talks had led to a proposal being made to the government for the prime ministers to talk about the settlement of Makov, a part of Kasarnie, where there is a shortage of 60-500 hectares. The government has accepted the viewpoint that there was nothing to discuss. It is the territory of the Slovak Republic, the state border is clear, the Czech tourists who do not want to go there [changes thought], it is their property, but it does not belong to the Czech Republic just because they have holiday houses and territory there. We will not talk about it.

So, this in fact simplified compensation down to only 120 hectares of territory as a result of the canalization of the Morava River. [passage omitted]

## Tuchyna on Cabinet's Work on Border Settlements

*LD083173694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Excerpts] [Announcer Lydia Mrazova] The Slovak Cabinet, led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, is holding a regular meeting in Bratislava today. The Cabinet is due to discuss more than 30 issues. According to the Slovak Republic News Agency [TASR], the prime minister said the government would discuss personnel issues today, and it would assess also the nominees to the post of minister of foreign affairs and minister for the administration and privatization of national property. Michal Tvarozek reports from the Government's Office about the meeting so far.

[Tvarozek] The aforementioned issues have not gotten onto the agenda so far. Jozef Tuchyna, minister of the interior, and Ondrej Hanko, director of the [Government] Press and Information Department, took part in a short news briefing, which ended about 25 minutes ago.

Mr. Hanko provided a brief summary of the meeting so far. He said that the prime minister first briefed the Cabinet members on his talks with the Party of the Democratic Left on 7 March, adding that the results were confidential. Hanko went on to say that the government had adopted a resolution entrusting Deputy Prime Ministers Sergej Kozlik and Julius Toth to draft proposals on the use of the Japanese loan for small and medium-sized enteprise. [passage omitted]

[Tvarozek] Minister Jozef Tuchyna said afterwards:

[Begin recording] [Tuchyna] The last item we discussed was the report on the work of the joint [Czech-Slovak]

border delimitation commission submitted on behalf of the Slovak side by the commission's chairman, Mr. (Becka). This report was not adopted in its entirety. Regarding the incorporation of the settlement of Sidonia in the area of the village of Horne Srnie and compensation for this, the government decided not to incorporate it into the Czech Republic. [passage omitted]

[Hanko] Representative of PRACE, if you please.

[Unidentified correspondent] I would like to know what the border delimination commission will do next and whether this issue will be returned to the government again.

[Tuchyna] The border delimitation commission has worked in a particular way, but now it is a matter for talks between the governments. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] I would like to ask about the reasons that led the government to decide not to add Sidonia to the Czech Republic or to a village in the Czech Republic.

[Tuchyna] It was simple. The vote taken by the government rejected this proposal. [end recording]

### Tuchyna on Crime Rate, Readmission Treaties

*AU0803205994 Bratislava SME in Slovak 2 Mar 94 pp 1, 4*

[Interview with Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna by Robert Kotian; place and date not given: "The Crime Rate Is a Common Phenomenon Today"]

[Excerpts] According to public opinion polls, Slovaks consider the crime rate to be one of the greatest problems in Slovakia right now. We spoke about some reasons and certain interesting cases with Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna.

[Kotian] What are the main reasons for the growing crime rate, in your opinion? Is the weakness of the new state a reason for that?

[Tuchyna] We need to look at several sides to this problem. The high crime rate is not only a Slovak problem; it is a common phenomenon today in advanced, postcommunist, or totalitarian countries. We are distinguishing four main reasons for the growth of the crime rate—socioeconomic, legislative, international, and personal. After we introduced the market economy, many people became uneasy because they lost social guarantees and did not know how to tackle the new situation. On the other hand, other people are abusing this situation. Many legal standards at present overlap—the new ones and the socialist ones. Many are imperfect because they have been drafted in haste. The people should know the law, but they often do not know it at all. We are building a law-abiding society, but we have a disparity here between people's awareness [of the law] and their actions. From the international viewpoint, I would like to stress that Slovakia is facing a new situation, where migration is going hand in hand with the internationalization of crime. This is a very serious problem and should be solved at all levels, not only at the level of the Interior Ministry and the police. We have to search for a solution and not only in the socioeconomic sphere and the material security of the people. We also have to complete our legal system and establish the legal awareness of the people, which is a long-term affair. The Interior Ministry is much engaged in international cooperation. The perfection of the school system, family activity, churches, and social organizations have positive influence on the development of personality. Unfortunately, we did not manage to introduce into our schools lessons on crime, drugs, and their impact on human personality. [passage omitted]

[Kotian] What is the situation with the readmission treaties? Do you know how many refugees have been returned from the Czech Republic?

[Tuchyna] This era is one of movement of nations. Last year, some 40 million people went through Slovak territory. More than 10 million transportation vehicles were checked in. A total of 1,041 people were apprehended when on their way in, and 1,140 on their way out. A total of 2,422 people were apprehended because of falsifying or tampering with travel documents. A total of 82,600 people were returned because of flaws in travel documents. This is why the international norms and readmission treaties are important to us. We have concluded such treaties with practically every country except Hungary. We want to conclude a standard international treaty with them, as with all other countries. We cannot conclude a treaty on the readmission of only Hungarian citizens, which is what they would like. [passage omitted]

## Boross Discusses Regional Security Concerns

*AU0303191494 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 Mar 94 p 5*

["G.H."-initialed report: "Domestic Stability, Incalculable Factors in Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Bonn, 2 March—In reply to a question about whether he will still be head of the government after the May parliamentary elections, Hungarian Prime Minister Boross said that he looked ahead to June with "moderate or cheerful optimism." "These will be the second free elections, it will be possible to make more accurate predictions when the fourth elections take place. However, the latest data indicates that an important part of the population understands our efforts and recognizes what we have done within the country and in bringing Hungary closer to Europe," said Boross, the Hungarian Democratic Forum's leading candidate, confidently. He ruled out coalitions with the Socialist Party, the Alliance of Free Democrats under its present leadership, the "Hungarian Life and Justice Party," and the "Independent Smallholders Party. Boross has thus made it clear that he does not want to have anything to do politically with the right-wing extremists Csurka and Torgyan, who lead the last two of the above parties and were formerly politicians in the current coalition government: "Their rhetoric and mentality is not compatible with the center-right direction that we consider acceptable, also acceptable from the viewpoint of the interests of our European efforts."

Speaking to this newspaper, the Hungarian prime minister also noted that Hungary was "potentially in a very dangerous geopolitical position." Five new states had been created on its borders, war is being waged in Hungary's vicinity, and there is a possibility that there might be another wave of refugees. That makes the domestic stability that the government has achieved all the more noteworthy. So, what is the significance of the skinheads, who have also created much commotion in Hungary? "In the past, skinheads were a relatively infrequent phenomenon in our country, and now there are only isolated incidents. However, we must implement one or two measures to dissolve these childish gangs. In Hungary, the phenomenon plays a smaller role than in most Europe states."

Regarding the emergence of extreme right-wing groupings that draw on the legacy of Arrow Cross leader Szalasi, who formed a Quisling regime in 1944 during the German occupation, the prime minister said: "If the supporters are very old people, then I feel sorry for them, if they are young people, then I cannot understand them. Szalasi was a traitor to the fatherland and has no place in Hungarian history." Recently, a man returned to Hungary from abroad and formed a group with a good 30 members. "Currently, the prosecution service is dealing with them; they are more of an irritation than a danger. There is nothing to indicate that they are spreading to the provinces." This kind of extremism has no support in Hungary and there is also no real left-wing danger.

Is Hungary, disappointed about the distance that the West is maintaining—the "Partnership for Peace" instead of membership of MATO, associate membership of the European Union rather than full membership? "Hungary has really been regularly disappointed by the West since 1526. This stems from its difficult position and in part from its realistic and in part unrealistic expectations," conceded Boross. In 1989, in view of the opening up of borders and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact (which Hungary initiated), Hungary had great expectations, but two years later, one had to recognize reality "especially, that moving closer to the economic and security alliances, to that which offers real security, requires time."

The Hungarian head of government attracted international attention when, shortly after the announcement of the NATO ultimatum to end the siege of Sarajevo, he said that should the sanction be applied, then Hungarian airspace would not be available for AWACs flights. The background to that statement, which could be viewed as a political mistake and as indicating a new direction in Hungarian security in view of NATO's disappointing overall conduct and Russia's involvement in the former Yugoslavia, was explained by Boross as follows: "Hungary is a neighbor of Yugoslavia (he constantly used that term for the Belgrade republic) and one can expect to remain so for hundreds of years. There are 500,000 Hungarians living on the territory of Yugoslavia and they live in a region where there is no international control. In addition, Hungary is interested in the Danube shipping route, the 'Adria' oil pipeline, and, not least, in putting at ease the Hungarians in Vojvodina, of whom 100,000 have already left their homes." He added that Hungary was not a member of NATO "and thus had no clear guarantees for its security, even if it were to receive such guarantees under certain circumstances in a conflict situation." The government is seeking to ensure its security and the interests of the Hungarian minority by maintaining good-neighborly relations, including contacts between military leaderships. This has led to the Hungarian stance of strictly adhering to the UN and UN Security Council resolutions and participating in the implementation of the embargo and the ban on flights. "However, the direct bombardment of ground targets does worry us." In connection with Boross' 1-day visit to Bonn, Hungarian diplomats said that the Hungarian Government was bound by a parliamentary resolution that only permits the use of Hungarian airspace for overseeing airspace and nothing else.

Russia's involvement in a region that it was forced out of by Tito in 1948 has also affected Hungary. There is power vacuum in the region and that whets appetites. The head of the Hungarian Government stated that Hungary, which is smaller than Bavaria, wants to convince Russia that dynamic relations and extensive commerce are advantageous (Hungary exports goods worth over $3 billion to Russia) and that Moscow can have no

interests that are directed against Hungary. It is not the first time in Hungary's history that the country has clearly oriented itself to the West, while, at the same time, negotiating with all influential powers. In a speech delivered at the headquarters of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Boross said: "We want security as quickly as possible, at the present time we, miss it."

### Fidesz Chairman Views Political Prospects

*AU0803130794 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Mar 94 p 11*

[Interview with Viktor Orban, chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats, by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "We Are Facing the Citizens With A Good Conscience"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Orban] I am convinced that only a calm force that acts rationally and is capable of cooperating with the two other political camps, a political force really standing at the center of the political arena, can face the current tasks. In the difficult years to come, only such a force will be able to guarantee a compromise between the various interests and, subsequently, social peace. Unless a liberal center government leads the country after 1994, I really fear that neither of the forces at the right or at the left of the political arena will recoil from making use of all the available means to topple the other's government. And this will hurt the entire country.

I find it particularly dangerous that, in the case of such a political polarization, the basis of the bourgeois center could also slowly disintegrate, because a bourgeois middle class needs peace. If this center force disappears and if everyone has to belong to some camp in order to assert his interests, then we can give up our hopes of a bourgeois Hungary.

[Pinter] In your opinion, does the concept of bourgeois center originate from the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] exclusively?

[Orban] The process that led to the signing of an agreement between the Fidesz and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and later, between the other two liberal parties started at our pressure. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Do you exclude the existence of liberal political parties that want to cooperation between liberals and leftists in principle?

[Orban] Of course, there are leftist liberal forces, and no one should be ashamed of this, because the social-liberal trend is present in many areas in the world. However, for such a policy in Hungary today, we lack one of the the major conditions, namely a genuine and strong social democratic party with which the liberals could easily agree. As for us, in our policy, we would like to assert the idea that the liberal thought always failed on two issues that are still timely today; one of them is the national issue, to which the liberals have failed to give an efficient answer since the beginning of this century and have left this issue to the right-wing and often extremist forces. We know well what tragedies came in the wake of all this. Certain circles of the current government coalition followed this tradition when they called us a force "insensitive to vital national questions" and tried to make people believe that liberalism was an article of mass consumption brought from abroad. The Fidesz has faced this challenge in the past three years. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Could the elections in Hungary lead to results in the wake of which you revised your position about the undesirable aspect of a social liberal coalition? Gabor Fodor left the Fidesz and, as "second" on the national list of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], he said that a government coalition based on the liberal force and the center would be the most balanced one, and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and a conservative party, perhaps the Christian Democratic People's Party might also have a place in such a coalition. Is it possible to form a real political agreement?

[Orban] I consider Gabor Fodor to be a full SZDSZ politician. Our personal relations cannot affect the cooperation between liberals. However, with a more clever policy, we could have postponed this issue until after the elections. This change of parties will hurt the SZDSZ, at least to the same extent it hurt the Fidesz. I fear that there will be no winner in this competition, and all of us will only lose. The "Fodor-affair" can always be heated up and used to question the cooperation between liberal parties; those who aim at this will do this. As for a social liberal coalition, I do not think that a situation could emerge in the wake of which I would change my opinion. I cannot know in advance whether a situation might emerge in which Hungary's interests require a cooperation between liberals and the socialists. In any case, I would be very glad if Hungary did not get into such a situation. My goal is to see Hungary led by a strong liberal center after May 1994. However, elections could lead to special situations. The Fidesz represents a principled position and, in a given case, surmounting party policy considerations, we could negotiate with every democratic party on cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Can you see the possibilities of cooperation with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] more clearly now that it again has a chairman?

[Orban] No. But I can generally see much more clearly now compared to the time before [former Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall separated the radical right wing from his party. I find the prime minister's statement reassuring when he says that the chances of cooperation between the MDF and the Hungarian Justice and Life Party are the same as that between the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the MSZP. I trust that the consolidation of the conservative forces will continue and this has to manifest itself, among other things, precisely in consistent distancing from the radical forces. This is desirable for all civic middle classes that are interested in politics. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Do you feel that you have prepared to comply with all aspects of the responsibility of governing?

[Orban] The level of preparations can always be improved a little. However, it is a fact that, since 1992, large committees have been working on making the Fidesz suitable for government work. With this in mind, we expanded the Fidesz's expert basis, we formed our relations with other parties, employers, and—with less success—employee organizations in accordance with this, and we worked in foreign politics in the interest of this.

We are ready, taking the possibilities into consideration, to prepare Hungary for an earliest possible European Union and NATO membership. In spite of the economic policy failures, the country is enjoying some kind of stability; we are ready to preserve this, to launch an economic program that favors enterprises and establishes the conditions for growth, and to implement a grand educational reform. We have prepared as far as our abilities allow us and we will face the electors with a clear conscience: Here we are, the choice is yours. [passage omitted]

## KDNP's Surjan Views Coalition Preferences

*AU0403124494 Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 1 Mar 94 pp 18,19*

[Interview with Laszlo Surjan, chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party, by Eszter Radai; place and not given: "Service to the Nation—Which Is the Real KDNP?"]

[Excerpts] With the approach of the elections, naturally all the parties are trying to show off their virtues to their prospective supporters. The Christian Democratic People's [KDNP] Party, often described as having a minor role in the coalition, is doing just this. Others call the Christian Democrat leaders grey and public opinion polls predict relatively few votes for the party. What are the views of Chairman Laszlo Surjan, who has recently been more prominent in public affairs, about all this and what are his actual plans? Eszter Radai interviewed him.

[Radai] The KDNP has been a dark horse for political analysts and the public for a long time. In the past, many people thought that the party would have multiplied its supporters by the end of the electoral cycle. However, this prediction does not seem to be coming true. According to opinion polls, the KDNP occupies one of the last two places among the parliamentary parties just as it did before.

[Surjan] The KDNP treats the results of opinion polls with care and caution. It does not ignore apparently unpleasant data but we do not start to celebrate even when the results are good; instead, we analyze them. In political speeches—when one is a little bit more outspoken—I usually say that in 1990, 2 percent was predicted for us and we received 6.5 percent. If we again triple the predicted amount then I will be satisfied. [passage omitted]

[Radai] Of all the coalition parties, the KDNP has appeared to be the "most suitable for coalition" up to now, it was an acceptable partner for all the parties without exception, and it was included in all coalition speculations. Now, it seems to be you who are narrowing your options by saying that, in addition to the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], you cannot imagine a coalition with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], either.

[Surjan] This formulation fits into the general tactics whereby party leaders do not make final and irrevocable statements; they only indicate their willingness for cooperation or the lack of it. The KDNP indeed does not have any desire to cooperate with the MSZP, and this is not being outlined with the SZDSZ, either. Many people are saying that a forced coalition might have to be formed in 1994. When the election results are known, all the parties will have to examine their consciences and they certainly must not forget about the governability of the country. Therefore, we will have to ponder about what consequences our participation or absence will have for the country. Can we follow or accept the former Italian model with governments changing every month? Is our economy already operating so well that it can run the country without politics mattering too much? Or is our situation quite different? In the meantime, the electors have the right to know what I will "bring upon them," what kind of government they are voting for when voting for me. The party leaders are not in the position to give clear answers to this. Therefore, they usually only express their willingness for collaboration and, naturally, rejections are expressed at various levels of leadership. However, it has to be seen that the issue will not be decided by them but, in the case of the KDNP, for example, a 50-member body will decide when the election results are known with whom and how we will negotiate.

### Coalition—With Whom?

[Radai] Does this mean that you would not like to enter into coalition with the SZDSZ but would not reject it either?

[Surjan] When talking about the KDNP's center party position—which is of course misunderstood by many people—I usually refer to the fact that human dignity and the freedom of personal decision occupy a central place in the intellectual world of Christian democrats. Therefore, these parties can also come to an understanding with liberal parties; Germany is the best example for this where a successful coalition on this basis has been operating for years. However, the deep social commitment of this line is also well known, so a Christian democratic type party is also acceptable to social democrats, of which Austria is a good example. Therefore, our party is open in principle. On the other hand, we must not forget, either, that while all the parties

are having sharp debates before the elections, these are actually artificial in terms of economic policy because almost everyone wants the same. [passage omitted]

[Radai] In your view, which is the KDNP's real face? The one represented by you, one of the leaders of European Christian democracy, or the one shown by the Mikloses [Gaspar, Hasznos, and Palos], those relentless justice makers and radicals, who sometimes even flirt with the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP]? And you also have so-called pragmatic people, who, being local government politicians, have not yet acquired national fame. A political analyst said that "the party chairman has been able to hold together people attracted to the radical right wing, followers of modern European Christian democracy, and the socially deeply committed Christian socialists." Which is the real KDNP?

[Surjan] I do not think that you mean this offensively but I have to reject it. It actually contradicts the statements that our opponents have been making for years, namely that this is a grey party. The point is that here, as in all normal parties, there is a constant movement, new colors are appearing, and if this party still manages to present a united front then this harmony is composed of diversity, rather than greyness. [passage omitted]

[Radai] Can you see any tendencies in the fact that the so-called radicals occupy prominent places on the KDNP's national list while the pragmatic young people are pushed low down, and only a few of the old and eminent politicians who are attracted to modern European Christian democracy are on it, and only then after a debate?

[Surjan] Nevertheless, of the older generation that you mention, we have Deputy Chairman Laszlo Varga in a prominent position on the list, and Sandor Keresztes, too, so this criticism is not justified. It is true that my idea and goal was that the members of a potential Christian Democratic government should be at the top of the list. However, the majority of the National Committee did not agree with this and I was in a minority at the voting.

**Tactics—How?**

[Radai] I have also heard views from certain Christian Democratic politicians that the prominent position of the radicals on the list is part of your election tactics. Through them—they hope—many votes can be gained from the extreme right in the second round of the elections.

[Surjan] I am not sure if election tactics can be the subject of interviews. A party that is able to gain voters from the extreme parties, therefore, is able to draw an uncertain section of society from the extreme to the center, and, I believe, is doing a service to the nation.

## Coalition Wants Rosati as Deputy Prime Minister

*LD0803222594 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] A meeting between representatives of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] has just ended at the Parkowa hostel in Warsaw.

[Reporter] A meeting of the SLD-PSL coalition is over. According to Jerzy Szmajdzinski, the coalition members acquainted themselves with the sociopolitical situation in Poland in the context of the spreading strike action by Solidarity. The government's readiness for talks with Solidarity has been reiterated. The SLD presented to Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak a proposal that the deputy prime minister and finance minister portfolios be given to Dariusz Rosati.

As Szmajdzinski put it, the prime minister received the proposal in silence. It was agreed that, before the end of this week, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak will hold a longer conversation with the candidate for deputy prime ministership. During this conversation, Pawlak will agree on conditions for cooperation with the new finance minister.

Journalists asked if the coalition members also discussed clauses in the Budget Law that oblige the Ministry of National Defense to purchase equipment only from Polish arms manufacturers. Answering this question, Jerzy Szmajdzinski stated that the SLD expects Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk to indicate all of his reservations concerning the budget of his ministry during the Senate debate on the budget.

During the evening meeting, the coalition members also discussed sending the concordat to the Sejm.

## Rosati Speaks on Economic Policy

*WS0803133094 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 1715 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Telephone interview with Professor Dariusz Rosati, Democratic Left Alliance candidate for deputy prime minister and finance minister, in Geneva, by Krzysztof Skowronski at the Radio Zet studio in Warsaw on the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Skowronski] What is the weather like in Geneva?

[Rosati] The weather is lovely, it is very warm.

[Skowronski] How warm?

[Rosati] Twelve degrees Celsius.

[Skowronski] Do you really feel like leaving such a warm sunny city for Warsaw to fill such a difficult post in our government?

[Rosati] Well, the proposal is definitely interesting and attractive. Perhaps it will offset the losses resulting from the change in the climate.

[Skowronski] Have you made a final decision yet?

[Rosati] I have agreed that my candidacy for the two posts you mentioned be submitted to Prime Minister Pawlak. However, it is really hard to tell now what the decision of the prime minister and then of the president will be.

[Skowronski] When will you meet with Prime Minister Pawlak?

[Rosati] We have an appointment to meet in a few days. During that talk, we are going to agree as to what our economy should look like in the immediate future and what should be done to maintain the growth trend and to ensure that the situation gradually improves.

[Skowronski] What should our economy look like in the immediate future?

[Rosati] Well, everyone wants it to look as good as possible, everyone wants an improvement of the situation. However, there are certain limitations: A budget has been passed that imposes certain limits on this year's economic policy. Certain legal solutions are in rather advanced stages; they will decide what will be happening in the economy in the next few months or half-year. However, a more long-term vision of development should be given some thought—what should be done so that the economy can start developing intensively and in a balanced manner.

[Skowronski] Do you envision any changes in the economic policy of our state?

[Rosati] Well, it is difficult for me to envision anything now because, as I have said, the issue is still being discussed by the coalition partners, as I understand it. Now, as an economist I think that Poland is going through a stage when certain growth trends should be strengthened; one should think about some steps that would allow investment expansion to increase, that would allow us to accelerate exports; only on the road to economic growth are we able to resolve the problems that we have now—the crisis of public finances, mass unemployment, and so on and so forth.

[Skowronski] How can growth trends in the economy be strengthened?

[Rosati] A number of steps can be taken that would simply improve the investment climate, that would encourage investors to invest their money, and that would make those investments possible by increasing financial means, decreasing the uncertainty concerning the future, and introducing a certain stabilization of the rules of play.

[Skowronski] Does the increase in accessibility mean more money on the market, or is it something else?

[Rosati] A number of solutions are possible here that do not necessarily lead to increasing the quantity of money on the market but that will create incentives to invest

money. Of course, these solutions also include financial policy instruments. Because we are talking about money, let me tell you that such solutions make sense and are effective in the long run only when they do not accelerate inflation; this is a very important limitation that I believe will be strictly observed.

[Skowronski] Are you going to continue the policy of Former Deputy Prime Minister Borowski?

[Rosati] Even though he has not finished it, Mr. Borowski started a certain maneuver in the area of economic policy that, as I see and understand it, can be summed up as follows: A restrictive, responsible, strict economic policy should be continued, but it should at the same time be supplemented by certain steps that would stimulate economic growth and decrease as much as possible the negative social results of some steps that are necessary from the point of view of economics. In this sense, such a policy definitely deserves to be continued.

[Skowronski] How do you evaluate everything that has happened in Poland since 1990—that is, mainly the Balcerowicz plan?

[Rosati] My evaluation of the Balcerowicz plan is positive. I think that generally it was certainly a correct decision. In a further stage of the implementation of the program, let us say that, after a year or two, certain changes could and should have been made. These changes were not made; perhaps the evaluation of the situation was different, or maybe I am wrong. However, generally speaking, the direction of the transformations we began in 1990 was absolutely correct.

[Skowronski] What is your evaluation of the privatization process in Poland?

[Rosati] I would like this process to be much more advanced and quicker. Privatization is the part of the transformations that is of paramount importance if we want to increase the efficiency of the economy, increase the sensitivity or the manner of responding of companies to market signals. It is certainly easier to carry out a macroeconomic policy in an economy that has many private companies than in an economy, such as ours, where there still are a lot of state-run enterprises, which look at things differently, which have a different hierarchy of purposes, and which simply operate with a different configuration of motivations.

[Skowronski] That means that privatization is a very positive factor in the economy?

[Rosati] Yes, privatization is very positive. It should be continued, and I believe that there are possibilities of accelerating it and perhaps employing more diversified methods and means of accelerating it.

[Skowronski] What about the exchange rate of the dollar? Has this exchange rate been correctly set in Poland? Or should we change anything here?

[Rosati] Well, again, I understand that I should answer this question as an economist...

[Skowronski, interrupting] Yes, certainly as an economist.

[Rosati] The decision concerning the exchange rate and the exchange-rate policy is up to the president of the National Bank of Poland [NBP]. I believe that the exchange-rate policy should really be a little more active; however, I do not think that, in these concrete conditions...[Rosati pauses] Again I will tell you that I am saying this on the basis of...[Rosati pauses] I do not have all of the information I would need to express my opinion on this with full responsibility. However, as I see it, at the moment more important for stimulating the exports and for opening the economy are certain institutional solutions that are beyond the exchange-rate policy. Now, generally speaking, the effectiveness of the exchange-rate policy in the past years has not been such as it should and could have been.

[Skowronski] And if you are indeed appointed deputy prime minister, what will be your first priority in office?

[Rosati] Well, you know, I will familiarize myself in a detailed manner with the budget and with those draft laws that are now in the Sejm or on the finance minister's desk. I will first of all find out what progress has been made in terms of proposals for systemwide solutions that the current coalition submitted [hesitating] before the elections or immediately after the elections, and then I will deal with a good formulation of certain principles having to do with long-term economic policies and what our goals are for the next two to three years. I will deal with that issue as the second-most-important priority. Actually, I will deal with that simultaneously.

[Skowronski] And what about right now? Where are we heading right now? I mean if you were to evaluate what we have been doing in Poland for four years, where are we heading?

[Rosati] We are heading toward building an efficient market economy, where the people's standard of living will be good. We all wanted that to happen, beginning with the start of the transformations in 1990. The process of transformation proved more costly than had been expected; my view is that it could have been less costly. My feeling is that the most difficult part of the process is already behind us, and I think that—you have already asked me about that—the former finance ministers also greatly contributed to that, primarily Leszek Balcerowicz. Nonetheless, I think the right conditions and a chance now exist for an acceleration of economic growth trends.

[Skowronski] You just said the most difficult phase is already behind us, but you know perfectly well that a wave of strikes is just beginning in Poland. Today was the first day of strikes and you probably have not received news on that—there was not too much of that.

[Rosati] You know, of course, those social aspects that result either from disappointments with regard to some necessary cost of the transformation or from the fact that some specific mistakes have been made—these are very important aspects of development that cannot be ignored. Perhaps it is the case that, in the past, one used to [hesitating] put too much stress on conducting policies according to some textbook patterns and ignoring, to some extent, certain social consequences of applying these patterns. That does absolutely not mean that social consequences will be a determinant factor in shaping economic policies. Unfortunately, there are certain economic principles that simply cannot be taken lightly, so the policies will be—or at least should be, in my view—reasonable.

[Skowronski] Would you be willing to attempt to convince those on strike that it is not worth it?

[Rosati] I think one should always make such attempts because only....[Rosati pauses] I think that not enough social communication was perhaps one of the reasons for all these social conflicts that accompany these efforts aimed at transformations and building a market economy.

[Skowronski] What kind of an argument would you use [in talking to the strikers]? A lot of arguments have already been used, and they ceased to be effective.

[Rosati] You know, I do not think at all that the strikers just consist of people who have no idea of economic issues. I am deeply convinced that rational arguments can be accepted. I am also convinced that, even if there are rational arguments, a whole lot of people—actually [hesitating], quite a lot of people in Poland—have completely genuine and justified grievances concerning the fact that their lots have radically deteriorated. I think one can find such solutions that will to some extent make life easier for some social groups, but one must also be aware that, without some kind of firm concept of a policy that would finally lead us to permanent growth, the country will simply collapse.

[Skowronski] And you claim to have precisely such a concept?

[Rosati] I think a concept based primarily on a policy of economic growth is one that may be formulated and that is not just my personal one but is also shared by a number of economists. That is actually the only chance to solve the problems of unemployment, public finances, and low salaries when you look long term—well, actually, not long term but let us say medium term. These three problems I mentioned are striking a lethal blow to the Polish economy right now.

[Skowronski] There are economists who say that the money supply in Poland is not high enough. Are you among them?

[Rosati] You know [hesitating], the situation with money is that one can only introduce as much of it into the economic system, as much as society is willing to accept.

[Skowronski] I think people are willing to accept...

[Rosati, interrupting] No, no, I mean demand for money. Demand for money is...

[Skowronski, interrupting] It is high in Poland.

[Rosati] Demand for money when we speak in economic terms means demand for that money that people have in their pockets, as opposed to that which is immediately spent on day-to-day transactions. So this issue requires thorough research and debates—of course, also with the NBP, which probably has more information on that. My view is that [hesitating] perhaps there is some possibility of increasing the money supply, while meeting certain terms that could be helpful in terms of growth and that would not necessarily have inflationary effects.

[Skowronski] Would you please remain on the line for a moment while Michal Kowalewski reads a newscast during which he will tell us what that is interesting has happened recently in Poland and around the world? Would you please listen to it, and I have two more questions for you that I will ask after the newscast? Is that all right?

[Rosati] That is fine with me.

[Skowronski] Let me remind you that Radio Zet's guest today is Prof. Dariusz Rosati, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] candidate for the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister.

Is the same kind of news being broadcast by radio stations in Geneva right now? I mean you did not hear the one now, but let us say from today's newscasts—was the news the same or similar?

[Rosati] In terms of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Yugoslavia, yes, these are the main news items all the time.

[Skowronski] And now to return to Polish issues: What is your view on the stock market and on everything that happened in the Bank Slaski case?

[Rosati] The stock market is a very positive phenomenon in what is happening in Poland; I think the incredible increase in share prices over the past six months—I think that is not to be repeated in the future, let me put it this way. It was linked to an entire array of factors that simply caused, first of all, the increase in share prices, and, second, they caused private investors to go after shares immediately. Second [as heard], there occurred such a shift in the prices of shares that we had an opportunity of witnessing also in the case of Bank Slaski. This boom or incredible growth will be slowed down, and I think there will occur a certain cooling down of the heated atmosphere, but I do not think any disaster will happen.

[Skowronski] And you think interference by politicians is not called for in the stock market, and you would not be willing to take the initiative when it comes to the stock market?

[Rosati] Of course, the government should keep its hands off these issues as best it can. Stock market and capital market measures in general are an extremely delicate mechanism that is guided to a large extent, alas, by imponderables and certain purely psychological factors, and so one must be aware of that while making decisions or even declarations on that issue.

[Skowronski] Let us return to your future conversation with Prime Minister Pawlak. What preconditions will you set?

[Rosati] I think I will begin by asking the prime minister what he expects me to do in the government. Of course, if we manage to come to some agreement or some common strategic policy on program-related issues—that is a fundamental issue—it is my intention to ask the prime minister to help me assure creating certain conditions that will make it possible for the government to act efficiently in the area of the economy.

[Skowronski] Could you give us a list of those items you will definitely not give up? What kinds of concessions can you not make? Of course, it is hard to speak about that because first of all...

[Rosati, interrupting] It is hard to speak about it because one probably has a number of principles, depending on what it is that we are talking about. If you could phrase the question more precisely, perhaps I could answer it.

[Skowronski] Well, in that case, perhaps I will give it up.

To end the interview, how would you describe your views: Are you a social democrat, a liberal, or do they use completely different terms nowadays with regard to economists and economics professors?

[Rosati] Well, I am first of all an economist, and that is how I view my role in the government.

[Skowronski] What about a liberal? Are you offended by such a label?

[Rosati] No, I do not feel offended if someone calls me a liberal. On the contrary, I think that the liberal doctrine, if one perceives it the right way, and I want to say that liberalism is perceived one way in Europe but quite another way in America; these are completely different concepts, so, generally speaking, I have nothing against using the term. But of course, one would have to define the term with precision in the first place, to find out what it really means.

[Skowronski] And how did Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski come across you? How did the proposition come about?

[Rosati] The best thing would be to ask Mr. Kwasniewski himself.

[Skowronski] When did you find out that you were a candidate for deputy prime minister? How did it happen?

[Rosati] I was asked a preliminary question of whether I would be interested in it at all. That was about three weeks ago.

[Skowronski] So three weeks have already passed. You see how tight-lipped the SLD coalition is? There were no leaks at all to the press, and so the press failed to find out about your candidacy.

[Rosati] Perhaps that was just a simple question, without any political ramifications.

[Skowronski] But it turned out otherwise. What are you doing in Geneva?

[Rosati] I am working at the European Economic Commission, and I deal with analyses and assessments of the macroeconomic situation in East European countries.

[Skowronski] Thank you very much for the conversation, and I wish you a good night.

Radio Zet's guest today has been Prof. Dariusz Rosati, the SLD's candidate for the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister.

[Rosati] Thank you very much.

## Solidarity Strikes Continue in Silesia

*LD0903111394 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0800 GMT 9 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] [Announcer] A strike organized by Solidarity started an hour ago in 100 enterprises in Katowice province.

[Correspondent Pagiela] The Wanda textile plant in Sosnowiec, the mining electronic equipment plant in Tychy, and the Fablok locomotive factory in Chrzanow are among the enterprises on strike. We have been told that the OPZZ [All-Polish Trade Union Agreement] unions have joined the strike. Despite earlier announcements, muncipal transport is not on strike in Silesia. Marek Kepski, chairman of the Solidarity Silesia-Dabrowa region, said that a strike of public transport would inconvenience the public, and Solidarity wants to avoid this. The decision as to whether a public transport strike should take place in Silesia will probably be made on 15 March.

[Announcer] Piotr Pagiela was speaking from Katowice.

Public transport in Koszalin was not working between 0400 and 0700 hours because the work force of the MZK [Municipal Transport Enterprise] joined the Solidarity strike. [passage omitted]

## Nationwide Strike Plans Detailed

*WS0803160694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Mar 94 p 2*

[Article by B.I.W. and PAD: "Strike Action of Solidarity; From Slupsk to Mines"]

[Text] The strike at two plants in the Slupsk Region of Solidarity started a protest action of the trade union. Monday [7 March] was "the first day of large-scale money collection" in regions for the strike fund. On each day now, there are supposed to be increasingly more serious strikes. Between 0900 and 1100 today, steel workers in 74 plants, primarily in Silesia, will go on strike. Beginning Wednesday, "the significant regions"—for example, the plants in the Lodz Region—will strike for two hours. At that time, in Lodz, the National Committee [KK] of Solidarity will debate the current situation and further steps concerning the action. On Thursday, pit-coal mines will strike for two hours and block coal shipments for the entire day.

### Strike for Minimum Wage

According to Piotr Zak, press spokesman of the Solidarity KK, each member of the union will pay on average between 50,000 and 100,000 zlotys [Z] to the strike fund; the size of the remuneration for the participation in the strike has been initially set at approximately Z75,000 per day (minimum day's earning). However, everything will depend on the state of the account.

On 7 March in Bialystok, Deputy Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz said that the Solidarity strikes are political and "disrespecting to the law." "No government established as a result of truly democratic elections can accept such a dictate," said Cimoszewicz, suggesting that Solidarity should ask itself a question concerning responsibility to the state.

### Stoppages and Flags

According to "Solidarity," 95 percent of the work force of the Wood Industry Plants in Slawno and the Heat Energy Enterprise participated in the four-hour strike. In the latter action, the water temperature was lowered by 10 degrees Celsius. If the weather had been frosty, the strike would have been felt by town inhabitants. Head of the region, Edward Muller, said that next time "people will get 100 percent of the heat, industry—zero."

In Elblag Voivodship, in Pieniezno, the supply of heat was completely cut off. A warning strike was also organized on 7 March in the Agricultural Machines Factory in Czarna Bialostocka.

The strike alert has been announced in the Lomza and Suwalki Voivodships, where there will probably be no great strikes. The following regions are getting ready for active participation in the action: Bydgoszcz, Torun, and the region of Kujawy and Ziemia Dobrzynska (Wloclawek), which on 7 March announced a passive strike. The Swietokrzyski Region has announced a higher state of strike readiness.

In Malopolska, strike readiness has already been reported by approximately 70 enterprises, including the metal branch and the Polish State Railroads. The first strike will probably be held there in the middle of this week.

Also 12 enterprises of the Bialystok Voivodship and several of the biggest plants in the Bielsko Biala voivodships have announced their readiness for an active strike. In the Mazowsze Region, referendums among work forces are still under way.

### Steel Workers and Miners

On 8 March, 74 plants of the National Steel Works' Section of Solidarity, including the Tadeusz Sedzimir Steel Works in Krakow, will go on strike. A several-hour-long progressive strike will be organized in several plants in Koszalin. Lodz will be on strike on 9 March, and the Silesian branch of Solidarity will continue its progressive strike. On 10 March, there will be a two-hour warning strike in all pit-coal mines; miners will block the shipment of coal for 24 hours. Miners' Solidarity Spokesman Adam Jawor did not rule out the possibility that in some mines the strike may last eight hours. On 10 March, a one-hour warning strike is supposed to be staged in Gdansk.

On 7 March, Solidarity Head Marian Krzaklewski requested that the industry minister present him with data on the average demand for electricity in the morning and evening rush hours from the energy grid. This has to do with the possibility of a strike in the fuel-energy sector: "The data are indispensable for coordinating the supply of as much fuel as is needed by the system to ensure electricity production exclusively for individual customers," wrote the head of Solidarity.

## Strike, Government Stand Viewed

*WS0903113094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Mar 94 pp 1-2*

[Article by B.I.W., PAD, and B.C.: "Miller: Solidarity Forces an Opened Door; Jankowski: Strikes May Last Several Months"]

[Text] It has been confirmed that on Friday [11 March] railroads workers are going to stage a 10-hour strike. Yesterday, work at over a dozen plants associated in the National Steel Works Section of Solidarity was suspended; rallies were held in other plants and money was collected for strike funds.

At a conference organized in the morning at the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM], the government stated that it is not able to change the Budget Law—it has been passed by parliament: it has been holding talks with trade unions since January, so Solidarity cannot accuse it

of having too little good will to negotiate; Solidarity can negotiate its demands in the trilateral committee; miners are only "an instrument of force" and will not receive any money for striking; the strike by railroads workers is illegal. The government did not say this directly; however, it is not going to forward a special invitation for "Solidarity" to attend talks.

**Yesterday Steel Works, Tomorrow Miners**

Today in Lodz, the National Committee [KK] of Solidarity will hold a session. Unofficial information suggests that there appear to be two options for further action: one can either expect an escalation of the protest, or—this is more likely—Solidarity may suspend the protests in two weeks or so because of the uncompromising attitude adopted by the government.

The same sources maintain that the collection of money for the strike fund "is going quite well." The funds will be placed in an interest-bearing account.

In a few months' time, Solidarity may take advantage of the social dissatisfaction and, with the necessary financial means, may organize a serious action, perhaps not in all sectors of the economy but "in several important sectors that are vital from a strategic point of view."

KK Press Spokesman Piotr Zak evaluated the 8 March strikes as a success for the trade union: "According to our information, participating in the protest action were four plants in the Koszalin voivodship, as well as 80 plants in the steel works branch—69 in the two-hour warning strike; in 11 plants money was collected for the strike fund."

Fourteen steel plants were on strike in Silesia; in the other 11, money was collected for the strike fund—the workers earmarked 2 percent of their earnings to the cause. On strike were, among other plants, the following steel works: Bankowa, Zawiercie, Baildon, Batory, Bobrek, Zabrze, as well as Czestochowa and Sendzimira in Krakow. In the Lucchini-Warsaw steel works, only two rallies were organized, in which participating were only those employees (approximately 350 persons) who could leave their work posts without causing a drop in production. The plant decided that it could not afford to go on active strike in a situation where there were already production delays. During one of the rallies, Mazowsze Region Head Maciej Jankowski said that "what we are starting today may last as long as several months—fight for the rights of employees has always been long and calls for considerable determination."

Warning strikes will be staged today at plants in and around Lodz, as well as at 100 selected plants in the Silesian-Dabrowa region. On 10 March, strikes are supposed to be staged in Gdansk and at pit-coal mines. Deputy Industry Minister Eugeniusz Morawski told URM that mining and energy "are not the area of the strike; they are the instruments of forcing decisions." He believes that here "the issue is political." He stated that the strike in these branches leads to destabilization and added that the violations of the law will be scrupulously registered; he will insist on coal partnerships not paying "a single penny" toward the strike. "If any of the partnerships does make any such payments, I will institute legal proceedings to find out about the results of such an unjustified gift."

**Railroads Workers "Illegally"?**

"The 10-hour strike by railroad workers is supposed to affect the entire Polish State Railroads [PKP] network, in both freight and passenger traffic. The protest will be organized between 0900 [0800 GMT] and 1900," assured Railroads Solidarity Head Krzysztof Maminski. He did not rule out the possibility, however, that the strikes may be staged as soon as Thursday. He assured that rescue and special trains will be allowed to pass; he also did not exclude the possibility that some international trains that near their destination when the strike starts, will be allowed to reach their destinations.

At a URM news conference, PKP Director General Aleksander Janiszewski said that Solidarity was informed that their wage demands are impossible to meet—PKP would have to pay from 500 million to 1 billion zlotys of the popiwek [tax on excessive wage increases]. Therefore, lower increases were put into effect, which were agreed upon with the other trade unions. Janiszewski deemed the Solidarity strike illegal because the PKP General Administration "finds out about it from the press, whereas, in line with the law, it should have been informed about it five days ahead of time." As a consequence, PKP will take steps to oppose it.

**The Government Is Ready and Waiting**

Labor Minister Leszek Miller said on 8 March that the fact that Solidarity is forcing the government to hold talks with trade unions is like "forcing an opened door" because it has been holding such talks almost since the very first day it was established. According to him, the negotiations on social guarantees and the trilateral committee have such broad powers that they are a sufficient platform for discussions and negotiations on any demands.

Miller stressed that the government cannot implement the demand that the budget be changed because the budget has already been passed by parliament; however, the trilateral committee may discuss next year's budget. Andrzej Baczkowski, deputy labor minister and head of the trilateral committee, added that the committee may discuss any topic, and it can be convened at once if Solidarity decides that it is willing talk.

## Labor Minister Rejects Accusations

*LD0803135894 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Labor Minister Leszek Miller has called the statement by Solidarity leaders—that the union intended, by

staging strikes, to make the government commence talks—forcing open the door that is already open. Leszek Miller rejected the union's accusations, pointing out a number of negotiations that have been conducted with the unions since the moment this government was formed.

[Begin Miller recording] From the moment the government was formed, talks have been taking place in various ministries on the restructuring of plants in Mielec, Lodz, and Walbrzych. Talks have been taking place on the restructuring of Polish State Railways. In January, talks began with the mining trade union federations, in the form of both a review and negotiations. As a result of those talks, an agreement on social protection in the mining industry was signed last week. Finally, on 18 January, the Council of Ministers made a decision on beginning talks on social guarantees for citizens. These talks are still taking place, and significant progress has already been achieved.

In conclusion, let me also mention a fact that is of great importance also from the point of view of the political system: On 15 February, the Council of Ministers made a decision on the setting up of a tripartite commission for socioeconomic affairs. This is an event that is significant for the political system because a platform for negotiating and resolving disputes has now been built into the sociopolitical landscape of our country. What is more, this will happen with the future in mind, because this is a tripartite setup, characteristic of West European systems, where employers, trade unions, and the government have an opportunity to hold serious talks and search for ways to ensure social peace.

When it comes to the other two demands that have been surfacing—the demand for the budget to be amended—the government cannot negotiate this demand because the parliament recently approved the budget. If the government wanted to influence the Sejm now, in order to make it work out radical changes in the budget, the government would not only fail to be acting in a serious way, but would also breach the democratic principles of a law-abiding state.

The second demand concerns the Enterprise Pact. The government cannot influence the pace at which the pact regulations are approved by the parliament. The government has already submitted five bills. One of them has been passed and is in force. The second bill on the enterprise social fund is awaiting the president's signature. The remaining ones are currently being examined by the extraordinary commission working on the Enterprise Pact. [end recording]

Eugeniusz Morawski, deputy minister of industry and trade, and Aleksander Janiszewski, director general of Polish State Railways, who took part in the meeting with journalists, both agreed that strategic areas of economy such as the power and mining industries, as well as the railways, were not a scene of social conflict but an instrument of political struggle.

## Echo TV in Wroclaw Asked To Stop Transmission

*LD0803193294 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1600 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] The State Radio Communication Agency [PAR] has called Wroclaw Echo television to switch off the transmitter, which has been jamming Polsat programs on Channel 59 since 5 March.

Echo has been a part of Polonia 1 network, and it said that it would not switch off. PAR threatens administrative measures because Echo has no franchise.

## New Defense, Interior Ministers Installed

*AU0803141094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] A ceremony to install the new minister of national defense, Gheorghe Tinca, took place in Bucharest today. The ceremony, which took place without the participation of the press, was marked by the presence of Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu. The ceremony was also attended by Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, former minister of national defense, and other members of the leadership of the Ministry and the Superior Military Council of the Armed Forces.

After the ceremony Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca granted an interview to our reporters in which he expressed the hope that his dialogue with the military will be a very good one. The appointment of a civilian as head of the Defense Ministry, Mr. Tinca said, is part of a process aimed at modernizing our various structures, a process that we assumed by ourselves, as it was not imposed but rather merely suggested by European bodies.

Tinca also expressed his hope that the Armed Forces will benefit from his experience as a diplomat in its relations with parliament, the political parties, and other state bodies. He said that he will promote values such as calmness, tactfulness, sincerity, honesty and noted that he preferred open discussions to the benefit of the Armed Forces and the country.

At noon today at the headquarters of the Romanian Interior Ministry, in the presence of Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and members of the Interior Ministry Collegium, a ceremony was held to install new Interior Minister Doru Ioan Taracila.

In his speech Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu presented the personality of the new minister, pointing out that the appointment of a civilian personality to lead that ministry is part of the broad process of the country's democratization and its adaptation to the practices and standards of the advanced democracies.

After assessing the previous activity of the Ministry as positive, Vacaroiu thanked the former interior minister, Lieutenant General George Ioan Danescu, who was appointed state secretary and deputy of the interior minister.

New Interior Minister Doru Ioan Taracila stated that he will firmly act to continue reform and to boost the efficiency of actions aimed at fighting the phenomenon of infractions and the scourge of corruption and at ensuring law and public order.

Lieutenant General George Ioan Danescu mentioned a few issues in which the Ministry of Interior achieved progress over the past year and pointed out that in his new capacity he will work to improve the entire activity of the Ministry. The newly appointed interior minister is currently holding a news conference.

## Roman Criticizes Method of Cabinet Reshuffle

*AU0803143894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] In a statement to our reporters today, Democratic Party [PD] Chairman Petre Roman referred to the recent government reshuffle, expressing his disappointment that it had been done without first consulting with the other political forces and, especially, without first consulting with parliament. The reshuffle was done in this way despite the fact that lately the government party and the other parliamentary parties had been engaged in a dialogue, Roman said. Such consultations would have been necessary, he assessed, as some of the offices subjected to the reshuffle are important for our national interests.

Regarding the talks conducted by PD representatives with the leaders of PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], Roman said that actually they were discussions rather than negotiations merely intended to clear up certain things. However, consultations and the dialogue have to be continued in order to concretely solve the problems and sorrows of the people.

The PD leader said that the current government seems to be detached from reality, which is a serious matter, considering the way the people's problems and sorrows have accumulated. Those who bear high responsibility in our society ought to show interest for all such problems, Roman pointed out, saying that the time is ripe for a program of hope and confidence.

## Nastase, Cosea Examine Government Formula

*AU0603175794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 5 Mar 94*

[Text] Current consultations between the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] ruling party and the other parliamentary formations is a new element in Romanian political life and, regardless of results, one should hail them because they will allow for better communication, proving that it is possible to hold a dialogue even if the political climate is quite tense, said PDSR Executive President Adrian Nastase to a morning program of Bucharest Radio.

Nastase mentioned that these consultations have only an exploratory character and that it is difficult to accomplish several steps in a brief time, given the big differences between parties in approaching various issues. However, for the time being it is very clear that the revitalization of the executive is necessary because the only realistic formula today is a monocolor, reshuffled PDSR government, meaning that it will be a government that has acquired a greater degree of competence and efficiency.

The parliamentary forces on both sides of the political spectrum will be able to support such a government in accordance with the initiatives that the executive is going to suggest.

Adrian Nastase did not wish to mention for the time being which are the portfolios that will be affected by the reshuffle, but stressed that the modifications in the government team could be carried out very soon.

Mircea Cosea, state minister and president of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform, also talked about negotiations between political parties during an interview broadcast on Bucharest Radio this morning. He mentioned that there is a very encouraging development on this subject, meaning that the mutual accusations of anti-reformism have disappeared and the sides reached a stage where they accept reform as the only chance to come out of the current impasse. Likewise, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate have given positive signs in connection with the memorandum concluded with the IMF and there is justified hope that in a reasonable time, the few laws that are still to be passed by the parliament and which are unquestionably necessary for the implementation of the memorandum will be adopted and will serve as a basis to reformulating the prognosis for 1994, an activity to start as early as next month.

Mircea Cosea warned the population that this year no economic miracle or a radical improvement of production and life conditions should be expected, but rather a gradual, step by step accumulation and a positive tendency, which would permit the revival of economic activity. Privatization will have to be accelerated indeed because it is high time to move on from words to facts. Thus, as of May 1994, the enterprises put on sale will be auctioned and thus a secondary market will be created for ownership certificates.

Cosea also announced that Iacob Zelenco was appointed secretary of state at the Privatization Agency on the basis of his experience and competence.

As far as the issue of attracting foreign investors is concerned, substantial progress has been achieved in negotiations with important firms such as [?Credit Bank] and [name indistinct] and finalization of accord is expected with the latter during President Ion Iliescu's upcoming visit to South Korea.

Mircea Cosea also approached the issue of inflation and increase of prices, which he considered as being normal for the present situation, when the issue of exchange rate is being worked out. He added that certainly, in the second half of this year, a more adequate rate of inflation will be reached as wel as a relative decrease of prices.

His conclusion was that our country has reached a phase of real and irreversible reform, which consists of a more alert pace of privatization and restructuring but also a more careful evaluation of social costs of transition.

## Party Leaders Meets With Hungarian Delegation

*LD0703221694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Text] During its Romanian visit, a three-member delegation of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] met today with the former Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman. The central issue of their talks with all the political parties so far was the rights of minorities in Romania. Our special correspondent Judit Laszlo reports from Bucharest:

[Laszlo] The Democratic Party, led by former Prime Minister Petre Roman, considers itself a social democratic party, though a liberal one in economic matters. Therefore its program is similar to the SZDSZ's program, Gabor Kuncze, parliamentary deputy group leader of the SZDSZ, said. Minority rights have also been on the agenda of their talks with Petre Roman. It is Romania's primary interest to guarantee minority rights and to avoid ethnic conflicts, the former Romanian prime minister said.

Senate President Oliviu Gherman also met the SZDSZ delegation. He promised that Romanian legislation will, in the near future, ratify the readmission agreement and agreements concluded by the two countries on avoiding double taxation and on the protection of investments. The issue of establishing a Hungarian university is also on the agenda. The Romanian negotiating party accepted the need for it but drew attention to the difficulties of its realization, Kuncze said. He told the chairman of the Senate that it would be desirable if Hungarians in Romania could peacefully celebrate 15 March [anniversary of the Hungarian revolution and war of independence in 1848]. A Romanian extremist leader has recently called this celebration an anti-Romanian action.

There was great understanding on political matters between the Young Liberals—a party of the Civic Alliance—and the SZDSZ, particularly with regard to the situation of Hungarians. The leaders of the Romanian opposition expressed their views that Romania's democratic future depends directly on a responsible policy by the leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR] and, last but not least, on the statements of the Hungarian Government in power. The liberal parties would also like HDUR not to monopolize the protection of minorities. At the same time, other parties should also undertake this issue. The SZDSZ delegation has agreed with this idea.

## Ties, Ethnic Minority Issues Viewed

*AU0803120594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2056 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Text] In Bucharest today the Hungarian Cultural Center hosted a news conference by a delegation for Hungary's Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. SZDSZ leader Gabor Kuncze and Istvan Szentivanyi, deputy chairman

of the Foreign Relations Commission of Hungary's parliament and a member of SZDSZ, answered the questions asked by the journalists.

Our correspondent Letitia Militaru inquired about the SZDSZ's chances in the 8 May elections.

[Begin recording] [Militaru, in Romanian with simultaneous Hungarian translation] What are SZDSZ's chances in the 8 May elections?

[Kuncze, in Hungarian with simultaneous Romanian translation] Naturally I cannot discuss this issue in an unbiased way, but I think our chances are very good. According to public opinion polls, the SZDSZ is the second-strongest party and its popularity is growing continuously. If we add up the two liberal-oriented parties in Hungary, the liberal bloc could have a great weight.

[Militaru] How does your party view the Romanian-Hungarian relations?

[Kuncze] In the eyes of SZDSZ, Hungarian-Romanian ties have a strategic importance. It is a strategic one owing to the fact that we are neighbors, owing to the Hungarian ethnic minority living here, and owing to our economic interests. The efficiency of Hungarian diplomacy could be measured by the way in which it will manage to achieve progress in this issue.

[Militaru] What does the Hungarian ethnic minority living in Romania mean to the SZDSZ?

[Kuncze] I think it is important to state that we cannot restrict our bilateral relations merely to our ties with that minority, which should be just a part of our bilateral relations. Culturally speaking, the Hungarian ethnic minority belongs to the Hungarian nation. Hungary's Constitution stipulates that every Hungarian government has to consider itself responsible for the Hungarians living outside the country's borders and to protect their interests. As far as I know, Romania's Constitution, in Paragraph 2 of its Article 7, contains similar stipulations.

### UN Reports Cease-Fire Violations in Sarajevo

*AU0803162694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Several cases of cease-fire violations were registered in Sarajevo yesterday, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] representative Major Jose (La Bandeira) said today. Three soldiers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were injured by small arms fire from the Serbian aggressor's positions.

Major (La Bandeira) confirmed that six howitzers of the Serbian aggressor are positioned 900 meters inside the protected zone around Sarajevo. They are situated near Ilijas. UNPROFOR is negotiating their withdrawal with Karadzic's Serbs even though these howitzers should have long since been removed or placed under the control of the peace troops on the basis of the NATO ultimatum and the agreement reached at Sarajevo airport.

### UN Officer Views Muslim-Croat Agreement

*AU0803184394 Paris AFP in English 1807 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Excerpts] Visoko, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March 8 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] In Visoko, the base for the Canadian troops patrolling the Kiseljak region, about 40 kilometres (24 miles) northwest of Sarajevo, Lieutenant Bruno Vanasse said Tuesday [8 March] that the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was well aware the Croat HVO army had not surrendered most of its weapons.

"We know there are two to four tanks and since the beginning of January there have been two multiple rocket launchers sighted," Vanasse, an intelligence officer, said in an interview with AFP.

But he said that while Bosnian Moslem and Croat armies had clearly not met the noon (1100 GMT) Monday deadline to withdraw all heavy weapons from some 350 kilometres (210 miles) of front lines, the ceasefire remained a success.

"We know they don't want war. The implementation of the agreement was under their initiative.

"They've been fighting for a year and nothing's changed. Both sides are losing," Vanasse said. The Moslem-Croat fighting is in three main areas, two of them totally isolated pockets held by the HVO.

Mortars and anti-aircraft guns were to be pulled back 10 kilometres (six miles) from front lines and tanks and artillery 20 kilometres (12 miles).

Weapons not withdrawn by the Croats in the enclaves were to be placed under UNPROFOR control in five collection sites. The Moslems have room to withdraw their weapons, Vanasse said. The Moslems have requested 1,200 litres of fuel to move their guns, UN press officer Captain Niels Otto Pedersen of Denmark said Tuesday in Kislejak.

He said that on Sunday Croat forces had handed in 57 heavy weapons in the Vitez pocket, mainly mortars but including some multiple rocket launchers.

Captain Raymond Belanger, press officer for the Canadians in Visoko, said it was clear the two sides had "not fixed a realistic deadline." He said the same caution had to be applied to the setting up of UN checkpoints to replace those of the warring parties and guarantee free access on crucial roads. [passage omitted]

The Croats have refused to take down their checkpoints at some sites. Belanger said of one, only a few hundred metres (yards) in front of a UNPROFOR site on the road from Kiseljak to Visoko: "It's there. We leave it there. They let people through.

"We're just trying to let things calm down."

Meanwhile, at the Kiseljak arms collection point, the Canadian troops have two tanks with 50 mm guns deployed to protect the former brick factory, now gutted and empty, that houses the surrendered weapons.

Dube said the Croatians had wanted to leave two of their men to watch over the weapons but this was refused. The Sarajevo-style heavy arms withdrawal that began Monday for warring Croats and Moslems provides that arms left with UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops are not to be recuperated.

The Canadians said they were ready to fight to keep anyone from taking the weapons, which included a 14.5 mm machine gun, two M-60 heavy machine guns, six 82 mm mortars, and three 120 mm mortars. [passage omitted]

### Koljevic: Bosnian Serbs Should Join Talks

*LD0803194694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—Nikola Koljevic, the vice president of the Srpska republic, and Charles Redman, the U.S. President's special envoy, today agreed that the Bosnian Serbs should equitably and actively join the next phase of negotiations on ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina initiated by an agreement between the Muslims and Croats in Washington.

Koljevic and Redman today talked for about an hour in Belgrade. They stated that they had discussed a method of resuming negotiations so as to bring about an acceptable and comprehensive solution rather than any concrete proposals.

Their press statements convey their shared view that peace is more certain in the wake of the Washington talks, with an increasing possibility of reaching a global agreement.

Koljevic stressed that "this plan recognizes the Serb people as being a constituent people with all rights, and that it will be involved in the further peace process."

According to Koljevic, the Serb side has no political proposal as yet, whereas whether and how the Bosnian Serbs will join the Muslim-Croat federal agreement will be decided by the Srpska republic's parliament.

Asked what the United States would do if the Serbs refused the Washington plan, Redman said: "We will be working with all sides to reach something that will be accepted and not refused."

Although the Serbs were not involved in the first stage of negotiations on the plan, they nevertheless, in Redman's words, "received some information and were given some documents. We hope that in the second phase we will maintain close contacts with the Serbs in the same way we have done with the Bosnian Government and the Croats," Redman said.

In this context he noted that the aim of the first phase was to secure an agreement between the Muslims and the Croats, whereas in the second phase all three sides must be brought together.

"What we have done so far was focused on speeding up the process leading to a global agreement. It seems to me that now we are in a better position to do so. We will continue to be actively involved; the United States the European Union, the Russian Federation, all three sides in Bosnia, and all countries in the region. This will require huge efforts on the part of all of us," the special U.S. envoy said.

Redman stressed that the peace process must not drag on for months. "We are trying to do something within the next few weeks," he said.

The Bosnian Serb vice president said that the first phase of the Washington agreement was about eliminating flash points of fighting and establishing a lasting peace.

"If you ask yourself what is the essence of the Washington agreement between the Muslims and the Croats, the answer is that it is the elimination of the flash points of fighting. Sarajevo has been eliminated as a flash point of fighting between the Serbs and the Muslims. Neum, as a contentious issue between the Muslims and Croats, has been removed. Central Bosnia, as a fighting flash point, has been eliminated or is in the process of being eliminated," Koljevic said.

"All moves that are being made are aimed more at achieving peace than imposing a solution. We will have to find a political solution ourselves," he explained and added that the right of a people to participate in this process and to make decisions about itself cannot be denied by anyone.

Asked if the issue of the Bosnian Serbs joining the Bosnian Federation, agreed on by the Croats and Muslims, was discussed, Koljevic said that this, as well as the maps and other concrete questions, would be discussed in the second phase of the peace process.

He noted that the Serbs would raise the issue of the lifting of sanctions as a precondition for embarking on the second phase of the peace process. He recalled that the Serbs had accepted the peace plan in Geneva which implied the lifting of sanctions, and that everyone but the Muslims agreed to that plan.

Koljevic said the lifting of sanctions was linked to the peace process and was very important for several reasons, two of which were most important: "Only the lifting of sanctions can completely discourage the militant groups in the Muslim leadership, who are still planning a spring offensive. It would also be a signal to the Serbs and Russians that the war flash points are not going to spread, and that no military advantages are trying to be achieved, but that the intention is really to reach peace," Koljevic said.

The talks will resume at Sarajevo airport in two days, he said. Redman has left Belgrade for Zagreb and is also expected to go to Sarajevo.

### Sees Accord as 'Pragmatic'

*AU0803160?94 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Report by Slobodan Jankovic]

[Text] After his meeting with Serbian President Milosevic, U.S. envoy Charles Redman held an hour of talks in Belgrade with Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Srpska republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina]. After this meeting, Redman again denied presenting any specific proposals to the Bosnian Serbs. Slobodan Jankovic reports:

[Jankovic] After the talks, Charles Redman told journalists the following:

[Begin Redman recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I think that Dr. Koljevic and I had a very good exchange. We are looking at ways to speed up this process and make progress. I think that we agreed that we should all take part and be very active in this process, because it is high time we saw whether we can reach final (?overall) solutions.

In the first phase we succeeded in having the Bosnian Government and the Croatian representatives sign an agreement. We are now entering the second, important phase in which we will try to gather together all three sides. What we have done has accelerated the process. [end recording]

[Jankovic] This was stated by Charles Redman after his talks with Nikola Koljevic, announcing that the United States, Russia, the European Union, and the three warring factions will continue to be involved in all the efforts to find a solution to the war in the region. Redman

denied presenting any proposals, as he did after his talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Here is now a statement by Nikola Koljevic.

[Begin Koljevic recording] I think that this is a positive step and, judging from the results, a very pragmatic move, without any extreme political conclusions. If you look at the sense of what the Muslim and the Croatian sides worked on in Washington, you will see that the most important thing was to eliminate the hotbeds of war. The war between the Muslims and Serbs was halted in Sarajevo. Neum has been eliminated as a contentious issue between the Muslims and the Croats. Central Bosnia as a hotbed of war has been or is being eliminated.

When you take all this into account, you can see that all moves are being made in the direction of peace rather than imposing a political solution. We will have to find a political solution ourselves. Of course, no one can deprive a nation of the right to find a political solution itself. [end recording]

### Commissions See 'Imprecisions' in Accord

*AU0803172694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Three parliamentary commissions—for constitutional issues, for foreign relations, and for the protection of human rights and freedoms—at a joint session held in Sarajevo today discussed issues concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina's future state and legal constitution. Merliha Colo reports:

[Begins Colo recording] The members of the parliamentary commission at today's session discussed the general agreement for the formation of a federation on those Bosnia-Herzegovina territories with a majority Bosniak and Croatian population, and a framework for the preliminary agreement on principles and bases for the formation of a confederation between the Republic of Croatia and the Bosnian federation.

Secretary General of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly [word indistinct] Sampara explained the main provisions contained in the general agreement on the federation of the Bosniaks, the Muslims, and the Croats concerning the structure of the central state authorities.

The agreement envisages that the assembly of the future republic will consist of two chambers—a chamber of deputies and a chamber of peoples. The chamber of deputies will have 120 seats and will consist of deputies from political parties, while the other chamber, the chamber of peoples, is seen as having 90 deputies—30 each from the Croatian and Muslim communities, and 30 from other ethnic groups.

The president and vice president of the state, as well as the prime minister and deputy prime minister, would be from each of the ethnic groups, while the foreign minister and defense minister could not come from the same ethnic group.

Several members of the commissions said that the existing draft is more generalized that it should have been and, as such, does not answer numerous questions concerning the future constitutional-legal order of the Bosnian federation as well as purely procedural matters, for example, in what manner will the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly and its bodies take part in the passing of a future constitution.

The presentation by Dr. Haldo Causevic was interesting. He pointed at several terminological imprecisions in the agreement that create dilemmas and hide legal traps. For example, it is not defined whether by forming the new federation, the state and legal sovereignty of the existing Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be forfeited and whether the new state community will be able to inherit its rights.

The agreement is also not precise in the part in which it outlines the territories of the future state, while the territories and the peoples are the two pillars of each state.

In deciding about these and other controversial issues, not a single step further must be made without activating the work of the republican assembly, which must adopt a stance toward them, it was concluded at today's session of the republican assembly commissions. [end recording]

### Joint Control Point Set Up Near Mostar

*LD0803173094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] A joint control point was set up at the southern approaches to Mostar this afternoon, at which UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] members are accompanied by HVO [Croatian Defense Council] policemen and members of the Bosnian Muslim army. Zdenko Vranjes reports for Croatian radio:

[Vranjes] This is the beginning of the implementation of the agreement signed yesterday between the commissions of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina army on setting up joint control points on the roads crossing the front lines.

Representatives of both sides signed maps yesterday with precisely outlined demarcation lines between the HVO and the Muslim forces. It was also agreed that six main roads be opened with unrestricted movement for all civilians, except for men between the ages of 16 and 60. It was also agreed that the following roads be opened: Zenica-Stari Vitez, Mostar-Jablanica-Konjic-Sarajevo, Kiseljak-Vares, Kiseljak-Busovaca, Prozor-Jablanica-Gornji Vakuf- Travnik, and Vitez-Zenica-Maglaj.

According to the Spanish UNPROFOR battalion, the HVO and the Muslim army have withdrawn their heavy

weapons. Mortars have been withdrawn 10 kms and tanks and heavy guns 20 kms from the front line. [passage omitted]

### Serbs Attack Bihac With 'Unabated Ferocity'

*AU0903104194*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 9 March within its regular 11-minute newscast carries several reports on the situation in the Republic.

In his report from the Bihac region, Mirza Sadikovic says that "the Serbian aggressor forces' offensive on the Bihac region has entered its second month with unabated ferocity. The past 24 hours have been marked by constant aggressor's artillery operations on the outskirts of the Bihac and Cazin communes. Yesterday afternoon and last night, howitzers and mortars targeted the Cazin region more. The situation along the defense lines was as usual: With the activity with Bofors weapons, [word indistinct], (?machine-guns), mortars of all kinds, and an increased sniper activity on Grabez, (Hasin Vrh), and Grmusko-Srbljanski Height, the Chetniks marked last night and the morning so far. In this period, a dozen people were seriously or lightly wounded. The Serbian aggressors acted along the lines of the fighters of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of the Bihac region, particularly in the Pljesevica region and shelled parts of Veliki Skocaj."

A report by the Press Center of the Maglaj Commune War Presidency read by an unidentified correspondent says that "yesterday and this morning on the Maglaj battlefield there has been a strange lull with only occasional artillery provocations along the entire line of separation and sniper activity on [word indistinct] in the northern part of the city. However, the visit by [Serbian Republic Presidency Member Biljana] Plavsic and Mirko Jovic [chairman of the Serbian National Defense] to Ozren, as well as an intensive concentration and regrouping of manpower and artillery pieces around Maglaj, harbinger a continuation of even fiercer attacks on the city soon."

A partly indistinct report by a Press Center of the 3d Corps says that "shots fired from the HVO positions in the zone covered by the 3d Corps can be counted on the fingers of one hand. A sniper is heard from time to time, as was the case in Stari Vitez. A mortar bomb fell on (Busovaca) [word indistinct]. These were incidents that failed to seriously threaten the truce.

"However, the Chetniks have not been calm. At 2030 last night, they fired seven howitzer shells from (Zmetan) on Travnik. On the Zavidovici battlefield [word indistinct] and Karaula, Chetniks opened fire from antiaircraft weapons. In the Bugojno region, they occasionally acted with infantry weapons. At about 0800 this morning, a general danger alarm was sounded in Zenica. Three shells were launched from the Chetnik strongholds on Vlasic. According to reports so far, two people have been lightly injured.

"Prisoners were exchanged yesterday between the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO in the region of Zepce. Seventeen Croatian fighters were released by our side, while 31 fighters of our army left Zepce."

### Izetbegovic 'Pleading' to Kinkel on Refugees

*LD0803203494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] We have just received the letter sent by the president of our country's Presidency Alija Izetbegovic to German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. It reads as follows:

Dear Sir:

In connection with your government's decision to deny further hospitality to the citizens of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, we wish to draw your attention to the fact that its literal implementation could do a great injustice to certain members of our nation. Namely, this decision also applies to Muslim refugees from Sandzak who, as your excellency knows all too well, have been the target of brutal repression by the Belgrade regime. Those from Sandzak had to flee their homes due to open police terror and also because they refused to be mobilized by the Serbian army and to be forced to commit crimes against the Croats and later against their brethren in Bosnia. To our knowledge, most of these people in Germany today hail from the municipalities of Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Tutin, Rozaje, Bijelo Polje, Berane, Prijepolje, Priboj, Nova Varos, Plevlja, and Plav.

I am pleading with you, Sir, to exempt these unfortunate people from the decision on deportation, because they simply have nowhere to return. They would be sent to prison or, worse, to the front in Bosnia or Croatia the minute they crossed the border, President Izetbegovic wrote in his letter to Klaus Kinkel.

### UN Reportedly Blaming Muslims for Massacre

*LD0803224594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2209 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[By Dejan Lukic]

[Text] Washington, March 8 (TANJUG)—United Nations experts have established that Moslems were responsible for the explosion at a Sarajevo market in early February, TANJUG learned from usually well-informed American circles.

The sources said that two officers of the U.N. commission, one from Great Britain and one from Belgium, independently came to the conclusion that the shell had been fired from the Moslem side.

The ballistics experts sent the report to the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), but the document apparently got side-tracked somewhere along the way, the sources said. The sources told TANJUG that the White House also had a copy of this report.

The French television network TF-1 recently broadcast a report by its New York correspondent which mentioned the UNPROFOR report blaming the Moslems for the massacre. The official UNPROFOR report on the massacre, which killed 68 civilians and wounded around 200 according to Moslem media, said that it was not possible to establish the guilty party.

THE WASHINGTON POST said on Tuesday that the shell which caused the massacre at the Sarajevo market, judging from its effects, could have come from the Moslem side. This article is the first of its kind in a major U.S. newspaper which even allows for the possibility that Bosnian Serbs were not responsible for the massacre.

The massacre triggered NATO to issue an ultimatum and demand that Bosnian Serbs and Moslems withdraw or place under UNPROFOR control their heavy weapons in and around Sarajevo or face air strikes. Western politicians and media, however, interpreted this as an ultimatum and threat to Serbs, urging only them to honour the NATO ultimatum.

### Muslim Snipers Kill 2 Civilians in Doboj Area

*LD0803200094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1923 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] Doboj, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—Muslim snipers today killed two civilians in Serb villages on the right bank of the River Bosna, the information service of the Srpska republic army's 1st Krajina corps has reported.

The statement says that the Muslim forces were firing at the Serb positions with small arms and mortars along most demarcation lines in the wider area of Doboj. [passage omitted]

### New Herceg-Bosna Defense Minister Interviewed

*AU0803101294 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 94 pp 9-10*

[Interview with Vladimir Soljic, newly appointed defense minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, by Mario Marusic; place and date not given: "The Soldiers Do Not Mind 'The Herzegovinian Lobby'"]

[Text] With the many changes that have occurred in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna in the past month—including that concerning the establishment of the Presidential Council, which, in the established state of emergency and until further notice, is to carry out the duties of president instead of Mate Boban—public attention was particularly aroused by the appointment of Vladimir Soljic, the former minister of energy, mining, and industry, to the position of defense minister. We talked to him about the present situation in Herceg-Bosna, the tasks of the ministry of defense, the Croat negotiating position, the future of the Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and many other issues.

#### A Long Chess Game

[Marusic] Mr. Soljic, there have been many changes following the session in Livno, Herceg-Bosna. Do these only concern new people who should improve the former positions, or a fundamental change of Croatian policies in and toward Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Soljic] Many reporters attended the session of the Chamber of Representatives in Livno, and public reports of the Presidential Council sessions and the sessions of the Government of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna are regularly issued. There are no other facts whereby I could give a more complete answer to your question than what the aforementioned bodies have already said about it. I see this whole issue as a chess game that will be played for a long time, and I cannot give a final assessment on the basis of one or several moves. The basic aims of the policies of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, I believe, Croatian politics as well, will not be questioned. The Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina can be certain that every inch of Croat land is taken into consideration, as is each Croat in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it is simply impossible to satisfy each individual interest here—as not all Russians will live in Russia, all Germans in Germany, or all Serbs in Serbia, so not all Croats will live in the Republic of Croatia or in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, but, with the existence of the Croat state and the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, the freedom and the rights of all the Croats outside these areas will be guaranteed. We will achieve the maximum possible in this situation.

[Marusic] Let us summarize: The Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna (after all) remains the foundation-stone of Croatian policies in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Soljic] That is our orientation, and it will not change. There is no sovereignty without territory.

[Marusic] Nevertheless, many, particularly the opposition, which has been especially hard on the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna policies, have assessed the placing of Boban's mandate "at the disposal of the present" as the defeat and ruin of a policy—the policy of the "Herzegovinian lobby," as they like to say. Mr. Budisa's [president of the Croatian Social Liberal Party] comment was that "the Herzegovinians do not realize that Yugoslavia has fallen to ruins, but that they will still not live in Croatia."

[Soljic] I would like to send all those who disagree with the policies of Herceg-Bosna, and who question this idea, to central Bosnia, so that they can ask the Croats there if they support Herceg-Bosna and if they mind the "Herzegovinian lobby." As far as Budisa's statement is concerned, it is possible that Herzegovinians will not be in Croatia—it is one of the realistic variants. However, if the Croatian state exists, they will be freer than they have

ever been. Otherwise, the positions of part of the opposition is quite unfair, whenever the Croats in Herceg-Bosna are at issue. If they do not appreciate the contribution of the Croats of Herceg- Bosna and Bosnia-Herzegovina to the fact that the Croatian state exists, and that it will exist, then there is nothing to discuss there. We have shown how much we love Croatia at the referendum, when we simply voted against our common sense—for Bosnia- Herzegovina, just so that Croatia could exist. It is sad that whoever does not bear that in mind, appreciate and respect it, should declare themselves a Croat.

[Marusic] You have been elected defense minister from among very strong competition. Certain circles were somewhat surprised by your nomination. What is your position on that, and what is the truth about your appointment to the position of defense minister? Can a successful businessperson be a successful defense minister?

[Soljic] I would not like to talk about the reasons for my appointment—those who elected me should talk about that. I can only say that I am honored. Both those who held this position before me, and those who could have been appointed instead of me are people who are implementing a program. I am certain that I will find a way to have all of them help me in carrying out this task, which, at the moment, is the most important one for all of us. I belong to neither a formal party, nor to any non-formal group. I do not agree with any division of Croats on a regional or any other basis, other than that concerning whether a person supports our general policies, whether they work and want to work, and nothing else. The answer to the second part of your question is yes—I will do my best, and let others talk about the results. If I or someone else decides that I am not carrying out my duties satisfactorily, there will be ways of solving that. I will accept it as reality, because any job in politics is a seasonal one: Everyone who is elected will either be replaced, or their mandate will expire.

**More Rights Than the Mojahedin**

[Marusic] What do you intend to do when you begin your duties—will you start from where your predecessor left off, or with something completely new? What has not worked so far, and how should it be corrected?

[Soljic] I never start from the assumption that the world starts with me, and I respect what has been done well, but I will try to improve what has not been done well. Reorganization is under way, and I believe we will complete it successfully. I do not want to analyze the causes of certain mistakes—I can only say that many of them were made for objective reasons—from entering the fight spontaneously to certain people growing tired and the fighting becoming complicated.... I cannot say that it has been bad, it is just that the circumstances have changed, and a new organization needs to be found for the new circumstances, for which we will need new people.

[Marusic] How do you view the frequent accusations in the past several months concerning open military involvement of the HVO in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Soljic] I have not met either a formation or an individual whose superior is anyone other than myself. Defending the territories of Herceg-Bosna is the moral right of the citizens of the Republic of Croatia—our citizens did the same at the beginning of the war in Croatia. However, we are not asking them to, and we will not do so, because there is no need. There are enough Croats who are originally from Herceg-Bosna and want to come to Herceg-Bosna from Croatia and defend their homeland. They have much more right to do so than, for instance, the Mojahedin. Let the same hold for us and the others.

[Marusic] What are the chances of peace in Mostar? Whose city will it be, and what about the establishment of a protectorate?

[Soljic] For, when the question arises what the capital of the "Serb republic" is, or what the capital of the Muslim people is, there are not many dilemmas, I would like to ask everyone who has a different opinion what the capital of the Croats in Bosnia- Herzegovina is indeed. There is no other possible answer than the city of Mostar, since the Croats, too, have the right to a city that has a university, an airport, and the rest of the city infrastructure. Therefore, Mostar will remain the capital of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. As far as concerns the citizens of Mostar who are of Serb or Muslim nationality, I believe that Mostar can offer them more as capital of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna than as a city in any other republic. We will try to find a satisfactory solution for the coexistence of all three peoples in these areas. There will be no coexistence on the basis of brotherhood and unity, but only on the basis of partnership. In all this, the establishment of a protectorate represents another goodwill gesture on the part of the Croats.

[Marusic] Lately there have been many meetings of the Croat and Muslim representatives (Frankfurt, Washington), and the ceasefire agreement has been signed by generals Roso and Delic. However, reports from the ground still talk of new Muslim attacks.

[Soljic] There have been many cease-fire agreements. Judging by experience, I am not sure this signature will be the right one. Nevertheless, one cease-fire must be the right one. However, the situation in which there are three players is very complicated, and in these areas there is also the conflict of interest of the superpowers and the neighboring countries. Try as we might, it is not only up to us to decide. However, much depends on our power. There is no such criterion, if applied the same way to all, that would leave the Croats unsatisfied. The Croats simply never had the intention to take what does not belong to them.

[Marusic] Under the pressure of the United States, the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina is viewed exclusively

through the alliance of Croats and Muslims. It seems that the international community is prepared to acknowledge the results of the Serb aggression. Do you believe in the restoration of the Croat-Muslim alliance?

[Soljic] Generally speaking, it is wrong to talk of a single solution in politics. As far as the international community is concerned, it simply recognizes force or power to a greater or lesser extent, and this will be the case with the results of the Serb aggression. That is certain already. It will perhaps not be to the extent the Serbs expect, but as soon as aggression is acknowledged, it is a bad sign. Regarding the latest proposals for a federation/confederacy, I think that the representatives of the Croat people will be able to find a satisfactory solution. Indeed, when there is a war, it is difficult to discuss an alliance or friendship. However, a way will have to be found of living one next to another, or one with another—that is a matter of politics. The Croat experience of life in a community has mostly been bad. However, I think that a way will be found that will suit the Croat people best and that is possible in this situation.

**We Will Stop All Offensives**

[Marusic] If these peace initiatives fail, it is certain that in the next few weeks the great spring Muslim offensive, which has been announced, will follow. Will the HVO be able to defend the Croat territories if this offensive occurs?

[Soljic] There should be no doubt about the defense of the Croat territories. We were able to stop one of the most powerful armies with hunting guns and tanks at Siroki Brijeg with our bare hands, and there should be no doubt about whether we can stop a Muslim offensive. We are certainly capable of doing so. The weakness that occurred at the beginning of the conflict with the Muslims, when we entered it unprepared for a classic Muslim betrayal, cannot happen again. The Croat people can be certain that these territories will be defended.

## Ganic Views Position of Croats in Bosnia

*AU0803170794 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 94 pp 6-7*

[Interview with Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, by Zdravka Soldic; place and date not given: "The Croats Are at Home in Bosnia"]

[Text] Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, is probably the most media-exposed Bosnia-Herzegovina government official, always prepared to make statements and give interviews. Many say he is Alija Izetbegovic's right hand. However, circles close to the authorities report that he is close to Izetbegovic primarily due to the fact that he is best acquainted with military technological potential and its possible applications. They say: "Izetbegovic needs Ganic, but Izetbegovic is afraid Ganic will seize power. Ganic makes many decisions on his own, without consulting with anyone."

The inhabitants of Sarajevo have different opinions about Ganic. Some think he is capable and necessary, especially at a time like this, and that he must be given more authority and competence. Others recall his Sandzak origin and ekavian dialect [dialect spoken in Serbia proper], the fact that he entered the presidency as the representative of the Yugoslavs, and that he does not observe strict fasting during Ramadan.

We could notice he does not fast during Ramadan when he received us in the building of the Presidency. He had coffee and juice with us at the time of the day when that is forbidden by the Koran.

Ganic is a skillful diplomat. He tries to forget to give the answer to every sensitive question.

Since, in the past couple of days, the most topical issue was the agreement on cessation of hostilities between the Croats and the Muslims and the negotiations in Washington on the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation, we began this interview by talking about that.

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**I Barely Managed To Stay Alive**

[Soldic] Mr. Ganic, this is the 14th or the 15th agreement on the cessation of hostilities between the Croats and the Muslims. What do you think are the prospects of this agreement?

[Ganic] Its prospects are good. We took all political and military steps for its implementation. We are creating a climate on the ground for this agreement to be respected. A couple of minutes ago, I talked to commanding officers on the phone. They confirmed that results are excellent on the ground.

[Soldic] Who took the initiative to sign the agreement?

[Ganic] You see, the climate has been created by all sides. We have held many talks, made many agreements. We have always wanted to stop fighting. It was not logical to fight against the Croats. But we also knew we were not fighting the entire Croatian nation, but merely a faction of the Croats. The inhabitants of Dubrovnik, people in Dalmatia, Istria, Zagreb, Slavonia have always advocated Bosnia. Unfortunately, we could not establish a proper dialogue with the Herzegovinians. I am the first politician from Bosnia-Herzegovina who visited the Croat village of Ravno, near Trebinje, when it was destroyed, and not a single Herzegovinian politician set foot in the village for days.

[Soldic] Since you mentioned Ravno, the president of the Presidency has often been reproached for not having reacted properly at the time when the village was attacked.

[Ganic] I went to visit the village the day it was attacked. No one in the Croatian press will mention that. They

recorded it with television cameras as well as the statement I gave in Ravno. I said: "This is terrible." The village was completely destroyed. I was stunned. I barely managed to stay alive.

[Soldic] But for some three or four days, President Izetbegovic did not make any statement and a part of his territory was attacked.

[Ganic] I went there and made a statement.

[Soldic] Who proposed the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats and the Muslims?

[Ganic] We proposed the federation several months ago in Zagreb, during the session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency I presided over. Do you remember the session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency in Zagreb? We kept making that proposal. And then the United States and Germany said: "That proposal is not bad at all." It was planned, first of all, to reach an agreement between the Croats and the Muslims. If the Serbs do not agree to the confederation, then we will see what they want. They cannot just take away a part of the territory. If they want to leave Bosnia-Herzegovina, then that opens a series of other problems.

[Soldic] If the Bosnia-Herzegovina borders should change, will you demand the annexation of Sandzak?

[Ganic] If the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina should change, there would be another 150 countries demanding the same. And that is why Europe never allowed changing borders. If borders should nevertheless be changed, we would demand the integrity of the country. Why should we not enter the belly of the Serbs, if they are doing the same to us. However, it will not come to that. Sandzak will get the same kind of autonomy as the Serbs in Knin.

[Soldic] Do you think it is realistic to expect a federation with the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina? Is it possible to impose that on Milosevic and Karadzic? On the other hand, I do not see a political party in Serbia that could seize power and change the relation toward Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Ganic] Milosevic and Karadzic are, first of all, people who have tens of millions of dollars. You must be aware of that. On the other hand, when Milosevic feels the pressure, Karadzic is gone for a couple of hours. If the international community should simultaneously adhere to the principle which persecutes criminals of war, then Karadzic would automatically be put on trial. The Serbs can obey perfectly when they have to.

**The Serbs Must Be Stretched Out**

[Soldic] How do you interpret the change of political course of the international community toward Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ganic] Great Britain has supported the Serbs from the start. To some extent, the French have supported Great Britain in that, so as to hinder the growing influence of Germany in this region. Actually, that is a very primitive concept: Slobodan Milosevic was found to create a chaos here, so that this part of Europe would not merge with Asia and so that Germany would not dominate over it. However, tolerating a fascist like Milosevic, with the project of greater Serbia, resulted in another fascist with the project of greater Russia. That made the French change their politics. This is a global aberration. Serbia has crossed the Drina. The Drina River has always been a border. The United States suggested Great Britain should support the change of concept toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. I expect to see better days for Bosnia.

[Soldic] Lately, one often hears that, in addition to political support of the United States, Bosnia also gets substantial financial aid.

[Ganic] I do not want to comment on that. After all, the United States defends the consistency of its policies in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In my opinion, they have made a good political move. They first left it up to Europe to solve the problem of Bosnia. As is now obvious, the Europeans can not or will not do that, so the United States decided to get more actively involved. You can see that from the Sarajevo ultimatum and from the support to the proposal about Bosnia-Herzegovina federation.

[Soldic] Does Bosnia-Herzegovina, apart from political support, get any financial support from Islamic countries?

[Ganic] We get significant financial aid.

[Soldic] The NATO ultimatum about Sarajevo did not prove to be determined enough, it seems. The Serbs have not withdrawn their weapons, not everything has been put under the control of the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces], and there were no air strikes after all.

[Ganic] This is nevertheless the biggest move since the beginning of the war. I am sure they will be more decisive in future, as we could see this time.

[Soldic] The inhabitants of Sarajevo say the UNPROFOR is to blame for the fact that the NATO plan has not been implemented to the full. And you made a statement on Bosnia-Herzegovina Television after the ultimatum expired that you were not satisfied with the work of the UNPROFOR.

[Ganic] They are to blame for having tolerated the Serbs, who did not do anything for eight days. And when they did get around to doing it, they could not manage to complete it in two days. The UNPROFOR always supports the stronger side. And they always have the same excuse—that they do not have enough soldiers. They did not need Russian soldiers who proved in Croatia that they are not neutral. But we gave a clear message to Russian soldiers. They should think twice before they do anything next time.

[Soldic] The Sarajevo model of disarming the warring factions is soon to be applied in Tuzla, Mostar, and Vitez. Can the same model be applied to those other areas as well? How "soon" will that be?

[Ganic] It can be applied in some towns. However, it is not such a good solution for others. Resolution No. 836, which was adopted before, is better. It includes the withdrawal of heavy artillery and the withdrawal of the Serbian army. But they get panicky even when they must only withdraw their heavy artillery. This war of Serbia is actually the war of artillery against civilians. In Sarajevo they say: "You are safest at the front line with soldiers." And that is the weakness of that regime. That is why we must not yield to the Serbs, for no such army has ever won a war. And that is why I have always said that the Serbs must be stretched out. But the Presidency is a collective body and we must coordinate our views.

**We Are Opening Roads in Central Bosnia**

[Soldic] The Croatian media broadcast your statement which announced that you would clean central Bosnia.

[Ganic] With regard to central Bosnia, your media often broadcast things that were not said. I said we would open roads in central Bosnia and seize key positions which will enable our army to function. We managed to do that. We connected Bugojno to Travnik, Travnik to Zenica. We were fighting for Vitez. In a way, it was a battle for communications. Why do we control Fojnica? Because we go to Zenica from Fojnica via Konjic. From Zenica, we go to Tuzla via Vares. We had to have that communication route.

[Soldic] How come that, in a couple of months, you conquered several towns controlled by the HVO?

[Ganic] Vares was besieged to the extent that it was impossible to defend it.

[Soldic] Did you make any agreements with the HVO to withdraw?

[Ganic] No, believe me. There were no agreements. Vares was completely surrounded. We had the 2d Corps, the forces of the 1st and 3d Corps. It was impossible to defend Vares. They managed to get out, but they were wrong in dragging the people along. We demanded that UNPROFOR enter Vares as soon as possible. We asked Monsignor Puljic to go to Vares and stop people from getting out. We kept fighting against ethnic cleansing. Boban had very little feeling for the Croats from central Bosnia.

[Soldic] Why did you attack Vares?

[Ganic] The Chetniks were coming into town from the hills. They came to do their shopping, and we had to pay for passage from Zenica to Tuzla.

[Soldic] Fojnica?

[Ganic] We had to liberate Fojnica. There was a problem regarding communications.

[Soldic] Bugojno? Who began first?

[Ganic] In the beginning, we fought together against the Chetniks. The Army was better organized and the HVO withdrew after a couple of days of fighting.

[Soldic] Konjic, Travnik?

[Ganic] We had the 17th Krajina brigade there, which is very strong. They liberated Travnik from the HVO in a flash. And commands were very strange too. Some units fought to the end and some simply withdrew. But the Croats also had the dilemma as to why they were fighting. The HVO has never had a clear program regarding their goals in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Boban wanted a state for himself.

[Soldic] Was Vitez attacked because of the territory or because of the explosives factory controlled by the HVO? Military experts who are well acquainted with military technology of that factory (both the one before the war as well as today's) say that those explosives cannot be used for weapons, that those explosives can only be used in civil engineering. Can they also be used for military purposes?

[Ganic] Before the war, I returned from the United States and took over the development of UNIS. UNIS was the largest manufacturer of weapons and military equipment in former Yugoslavia. I founded military and technological institute. The production has been going on for years and documentation was kept in Belgrade. I was chosen to buy technology for the factory in Vitez. I know exactly what they have.

[Soldic] Then tell me, can the explosives in Vitez be used for military purposes? Can they be used for making mortars?

[Ganic] There are two factories there: "Vitezit" and the "SPS." There are two possibilities. The HVO exaggerated the importance of that factory. The factory should not be destroyed for other reasons. Because there are certain standards. The story that it cannot be destroyed is a fairy tale. The way they think, they could not destroy it. [paragraph as published]

**Boban Made a Deal With Karadzic**

[Soldic] Why was there fighting in central Bosnia?

[Ganic] There was fighting in central Bosnia because Boban made an agreement with Karadzic to tie our forces so as to prevent us from advancing toward the Chetniks. But, on the other hand, also because he wanted to create a state within a state. He wanted to separate a part of Bosnia. Both our and Croatian forces were involved at the wrong place. And the Serbs took advantage of that. They say that Croat-Muslim conflicts are the "sweet part of the news." That is a strategic mistake, but it is never too late. The Croats desire to return to

Bosanska Posavina, central Bosnia—all who went away are welcome back. The Croats have two countries: Croatia and Bosnia. But Bosnia does not only belong to the Croats, but also to the Bosniaks, the Muslims, and the Serbs. But it is senseless to risk the existence of both countries. If you divide Bosnia, it would be difficult to convince the Serbs in Knin not to demand the same. Realizing the concept of the federation of the Muslims and the Croats, which would include Posavina and the Drina basin, would leave the Serbs from Knin without arguments.

[Soldic] In Croatia, they say that Komsic and Kljuic are just puppets in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, that they make no decisions, and only serve Izetbegovic to show to the world that his presidency is organized on the principle of national parity. However, I have read some statements by both Komsic and Kljuic, released a couple of months ago, and they said there was no discussion nor voting about the offensive against Vares, or about the transformation of the HVO in Sarajevo.

[Ganic] You see, when he became a member of the Presidency, Komsic started working very hard. Kljuic was a member of the Presidency, then he resigned, and then got back to the Presidency in a different way. They participate in making decisions, although I must admit that in the beginning, when the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army was being created, most important decisions were indeed made by President Izetbegovic and myself. Those who work are influential in the Presidency. Those who do not do any work, do not get to make any decisions. Today, I had to commit myself on the arrival of more Russian soldiers to Sarajevo. I said 400 was more than enough. I took that political risk and am responsible for that.

[Soldic] Stjepan Siber is no longer deputy commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Did he resign or was he replaced?

[Ganic] His wife became ill. He went to Switzerland for treatment. He asked to accompany her. He now works for our diplomatic service.

[Soldic] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army mobilizes the Sarajevo Croats to fight against the Croats in central Bosnia. I think that the Army and the Presidency ought to show some consideration for this very sensitive situation.

[Ganic] I can safely claim that those units that surrounded Vitez had an insignificant percentage of the Croats. The Croats were mostly sent toward the north to Tuzla. But, believe me, some Croats advocate Bosnia, and they are first of all Bosnians and then Croats. Eighty heroes, young Croats, gave their lives for Sarajevo. That will never be forgotten. The Croats have made a significant contribution in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

**Zelic Should Be Put on Public Trial**

[Soldic] During a couple of days I stayed in Sarajevo, I heard many Croats say they feel like second-rate citizens. Do they fear for their physical and existential survival?

[Ganic] It is possible there were some isolated incidents, but as far as global politics is concerned, the Croats are at home here. They enjoy the same rights as other nations. Bishop Puljic is here from the beginning of the war. We must respect that. The Croats did much for development and culture both before and during the war. One should not make statistics on the basis of isolated incidents. We made an analysis of theft and murders in Sarajevo. The Muslims were killed in 90 percent of the cases.

[Soldic] Why is Slavko Zelic in prison?

[Ganic] They say he was doing what was forbidden. Kljuic visited him in prison. I would like his to be a public trial. Come and inform your public why Slavko Zelic is put on trial. Among other things, he wanted to act in Sarajevo following instructions from Mate Boban of Grude.

[Soldic] In conclusion, can we say that you think Bosnia is not a state which is disappearing, but a state in the making?

[Ganic] Bosnia is a state which is recovering.

### NATO Plane Hit Over Krajina; American Injured

*AU0803163394 Paris AFP in English 1628 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Brussels, March 8 (AFP)—A NATO transport plane made an emergency landing in Croatia Tuesday [8 March] with an engine on fire, a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation spokesman said here.

An American, a Frenchman and a Briton aboard the twin-engined CASA 212 were injured, he said, but added that the crew had not reported being fired upon. However the Spanish defence ministry said the aircraft had been hit in the tail and the right engine.

Earlier reports from the United Nations Protection Force in Zagreb said that an unidentified Cessna had been fired upon over Croatia and forced to land.

### Downed Aircraft Hit by Missile

*AU0803161294 Paris AFP in English 1605 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Zagreb, March 8 (AFP)—An unidentified aircraft was shot at and hit over Croatia Tuesday [8 March], a UN Protection Force official said.

The incident happened over Ogulin in northwestern Croatia, UNPROFOR spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Jean Marcotte said, adding that no UN aircraft was flying in the area at the time and it was not known who shot the plane down. The incident happened at 12:35 p.m. (1135 GMT). UNPROFOR was informed by its local commander, Marcotte said.

A Croatian Government official, who insisted on anonymity, said that the aircraft, a Cessna, had been hit by a missile. The official said there were several injured aboard the aircraft, which had landed on the island of Krk off the northern Croatian coast.

### Spanish Plane Hit; 3 Injured

*LD0803173194 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] A Spanish plane of the Aviocar type, which was on a mission controlling the airspace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, has been hit by antiaircraft fire. Three of its nine passengers, one British, one French, and one American, were slightly wounded by shrapnel.

The planes' crew of three pilots and a Spanish mechanic were not hurt, although it had to make an emergency landing at the Rijeka airport in Croatia.

The plane was transporting personnel between Split and Zagreb, in Croatian territory. It was flying over Krajina where there is often fighting between Serbs and Croats. So far, the origin of the antiaircraft fire has not been determined.

### Serb 'Terrorists' Fired on Plane

*LD0803182894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] The political department of the Croatian Ministry of Defense has issued the following statement:

Shortly after 1200 today a Spanish UN Protection Force plane took off from Zagreb for Split. When it was above the Plasko area, which is under the control of Serb terrorists, two missiles were fired at it. One missed the target and the other exploded near the plane and damaged its tail.

It can be reliably said that the missiles were fired by Serb terrorists, members of the so-called 39th Banija Corps.

There were four crew members and five passengers on the plane. Three of them were slightly wounded. The missiles were fired at 1235.

The plane made an emergency landing at Krk airport at 1252, the statement says.

### Serbs Deny Shooting

*AU0903104994 Paris AFP in English 1002 GMT 9 Mar 94*

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (AFP)—Separatist Serbs in Croatia's Krajina province denied Wednesday [9 March] having shot at a Spanish Air Force plane used by NATO which was forced to make an emergency landing on Tuesday [8 March].

A military headquarters statement carried by the ISKRA news agency said the Serb forces had not been informed of the flight and had not even picked it up on their tracking equipment. "Consequently, our units could not have opened fire on the plane," it said.

In Zagreb, the Croatian Defence Ministry said the plane, a C-212 Aviocar transport, was hit by anti-aircraft fire, but did not explicitly say the Krajina Serbs were responsible.

Three of the five people aboard were slightly wounded. The plane, heading from Zagreb to Split on the Adriatic, made an emergency landing on Krk island near Rijeka port.

The NATO supreme command in Brussels said Tuesday the three wounded were from France, Britain and the United States.

### NATO Issues Statement

*AU0803193294 Paris AFP in English 1910 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Brussels, March 8 (AFP)—A NATO transport plane was hit by anti-aircraft fire Tuesday while flying over Croatia and forced to make an emergency landing, NATO said.

Three of the five passengers on the Spanish air force plane were injured. The three-member crew escaped injury, NATO said.

NATO officials here and the Spanish defense ministry in Madrid said they did not know where the gunfire came from. NATO officials in Naples said it was hit by ground-based anti-aircraft fire.

In Zagreb, the Croatian defense ministry said the plane was attacked by separatist Serbs who control the Krajina region of the former Yugoslav republic. The plane was damaged by the mid-air explosion of one of two missiles fired from the ground, the ministry said in a statement.

NATO said the plane was hit in the right motor and the tail while transporting passengers from the capital Zagreb to the port city of Split in the south.

The NATO supreme command in Brussels said the three wounded were from France, Britain and the United States.

The plane made an emergency landing on the island of Krk, which serves the Croatian coastal city of Rijeka, NATO officials said.

A Croatian government official in Zagreb, asking not to be named, suggested that the plane may have been fired on after it strayed off course. "The plane probably mistook its air corridor and deviated from its route," he said.

The twin-engined CASA 212 aircraft is designed to transport either 16 or 19 passengers, depending on the model. It can also be used for transporting wounded, aerial photography and training missions.

### Granic, U.S. Envoy Redman Discuss Federation

*LD0803192894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Report by correspondent Andjelko Perincic]

[Text] Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and Charles Redman, U.S. President Bill Clinton's special envoy, held talks in Zagreb this afternoon. The talks focused on the implementation of the principles governing the constitutional set-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina and a possible confederation with Croatia.

After the talks the U.S. official declared: To my mind we made an enormous amount of progress compared to what had been achieved in Washington. Many things still remain to be done. This awaits both the U.S. Administration and the Croatian Government but I must point out that we are not alone in fulfilling this task—we have the backing of the European Union or, more precisely, most of that region, and the other peoples in Bosnia. In view of all this we can optimistically believe that we are on the right track. However, we are facing hard work if we are to work to the benefit of Croatia and Bosnia, to the benefit of Europe and the United States. As for my talks in Belgrade, this was only a preliminary meeting because right now we are focusing on the issue of the Bosnian Croats and the Bosnian government. Nevertheless we are studying possibilities that would be acceptable to all three sides in Bosnia and to the entire region. It is certain that we will first have to resolve the existing territorial differences by political means, Redman concluded.

Croatian Minister Mate Granic also made a brief assessment:

[Begin Granic recording] The Vienna negotiations are proceeding well and I believe that we will round off the next stage on time. Likewise, we can see the first tangible results in the field. We are closely collaborating with the European Union and, as you know, I will be leaving for Moscow tomorrow, where I will have the opportunity to exchange views with my colleague, Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. [end recording]

[Perincic] Charles Redman will be received by the President of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, this evening.

### Government 'Diplomatic Offensive' Against RSK

*LD0803204294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1929 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Belgrade, March 8 (TANJUG)—Croatia will intensify its activities and initiate "a diplomatic offensive" in an effort to re-integrate the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) into Croatia, TANJUG learned on Tuesday from well-informed Croatian sources.

The R.S.K. is now one of the U.N. Protected Areas (UNPA) in Croatia.

Croatia will focus its activities on negotiations with the R.S.K. local and military authorities about the return of Croats who have fled these lands. The negotiations will be brokered by the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

The same sources maintain that Serb representatives will be offered a possibility of re-integrating the R.S.K. territories into Croatian districts, as well as cultural and administrative autonomy in the lands where they constituted a majority population according to the 1991 census, and the right to take part in district assemblies.

The R.S.K. was proclaimed in 1991 in predominantly Serb-populated parts of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in response to Croatia's forcible secession from former Yugoslavia and its attempt to reduce the Serbs' status as a constituent nation to that of a national minority.

The R.S.K. has been the UNPA since 1992, but Croatia has launched three large offensives against Krajina's territories since then, while uninterrupted Croatian

Army attacks on Serb positions along the demarcation lines ceased after a ceasefire had been signed last December.

However, all efforts to reach a lasting agreement on a cessation of hostilities have been unsuccessful so far.

The sources estimate that the main purpose of Monday's visit of Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic to the Senj-Lika District, bordering on the R.S.K. in western Croatia, was a preparation of a new "diplomatic offensive" against the R.S.K.

Jure Radic, head of the presidential office and secretary-general of Croatia's ruling party the Croatian Democratic Union, confirmed on Saturday in Osijek that Croatia intended to initiate "a diplomatic offensive" backed by "a variety of political skills." The Osijek District borders on the R.S.K in eastern Croatia.

The sources estimate that Croatia's officials will primarily undertake these activities to "collect evidence" that it is necessary for the United Nations to prolong its mandate in the R.S.K., i.e. to convince the international community that the re-integration of the R.S.K. into Croatia is impossible unless pressure is put on Krajina.

The current UNPROFOR mandate in the R.S.K. is due to expire on March 31, and it is to be renewed by the U.N. Security Council if approved by the countries that signed the Cyrus Vance plan on the introduction of U.N. Protected Areas to Krajina.

At the same time, the R.S.K. Foreign Ministry said it had rejected the proposal by UNPROFOR Commander in the UNPA "South" Sector, George Oehring, to negotiate with representatives of the Serb National Party whose leader is Milan Djukic.

The Serb National Party is one of the opposition parties in Croatia which has been instructed by the Croatian regime to gather all Serbs who have chosen to remain in Croatia. The party has proclaimed itself to be a protector of their minority rights.

A statement released by the R.S.K. Foreign Ministry says the R.S.K. considered this proposal by the Serb National Party as "one which lacks seriousness," while the document "peace with no alternatives" by this party, proposed late last year as a negotiating basis, was described as "a set of forgeries."

According to the R.S.K. Foreign Ministry, the document "contains untenable information that, instead of 400,000 Serbs, only 180,000 Serbs have been expelled from Croatia, and that, instead of 500,000 Serbs, only 180,000 are living there at this time."

The document advocates a kind of "confederal" autonomy of the R.S.K., but it does not envisage for Krajina to have the right to secede from Croatia.

The R.S.K. authorities underscore that Serbs, who are entitled to self-determination like any other former Yugoslavia's nation, have voted in a referendum to live in an independent state, and therefore any further negotiations on the issue are totally out of the question.

## Damages Resulting From Greek Embargo Assessed

*AU0803215194 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Mar 94 pp 1, 3*

[Commentary by V. Cvetkovska: "Merchandise Worth $1 Billion Passes Through Thessaloniki"]

[Text] The Greek embargo on transit of goods from and to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] forced Macedonian economists to obtain their first evaluations and reviews on current and future damages resulting from the unilateral blockade.

The first general evaluation of the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce assesses that, besides damages to some companies' already agreed import-export deals, the southern blockade will cause direct stoppages in the economy: in production in some economic sectors due to the impossibility of getting supplies, but also in disposing of the goods. Lowered productivity because of this situation threaten to put a complete halt to the energetic industry and production based on raw materials, particularly those that will be incapable of solving the problems caused by additional costs for alternative transportation routes. The economists were unanimous, at the last assembly of the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce, in their demand to the government to request urgent permission from the UN Sanctions Committee for a transport corridor through the rump Yugoslavia, because, as the economists said, other alternatives are only temporary solutions that will cause additional expenditures and damages. The annual balance of foreign trade goods delivered through Thessaloniki Harbor reveals that the value of export-import deals and transit amounts to around $1 billion, and separate analyses on damages to the economy, energy, metallurgy, metal, chemical, leather, and construction materials industries, as well as railway traffic, addresses the fact that, aside from the basic damages caused by the unilateral blockade, companies must also calculate damages generated from alternative routes that will have a final impact on their production process. In the energy sector, negative influences in petrol supplies and derivatives, coke, coal, and other raw materials, are expected. Based on the country's energy reserves for 1994, it was planned to provide 1,100 metric tons of petrol derivatives, and there are presently 52,000 tons of petrol being held in Thessaloniki Harbor, amounting to $7 million. The alternative direction crossing Albania is not the best choice because of the small storehouses, but also because of the limited transportation possibilities, thus the refinery will be able to keep up the process of production only if railway transportation across the territory of the rump Yugoslavia is opened, as this would facilitate petrol transportation from Bulgarian harbors. Increased transportation expenditures, this sector warned, will be reflected in petrol and derivative prices, which will be most directly felt in the economy and citizens through their consumer goods. In order to avoid these high prices, besides the transportation corridor across the rump Yugoslavia, it is indispensable to diminish expenditures in the derivatives production process. The sector most affected by the Greek blockade is the metalworking industry, which realizes 80 percent of its exports through Thessaloniki Harbor, and 60 percent of raw materials are supplied from that direction. The first evaluations of this sector's companies are that they will have to spend an additional $20 million if they are forced to transport their goods across other areas, such as Burgas and Drac. Only the Skopje Iron Factory has to import goods worth $84 million from Thessaloniki Harbor and export 340,000 tons of goods worth $106 million. The iron factory finds that transportation alternatives across Bulgaria and Albania are suitable only for small quantities, therefore it will not be able to keep up even a minimum level of production. Jugohrom has to import $5 million worth of goods, and import 14,500 tons of raw materials worth $2.3 million, in the first quarter of the year. Alternative transportation routes will add $1 million in extra costs for the first three months; therefore they are planning to reduce production to 50 percent in case the blockade remains.

The 11 October Tractor company from Kumanovo had signed a deal with a Greek partner for $26 million (the water supply project for Greece), and since there is no other alternative than pipeline transport, the whole project might "fall into the water." The mines of Zletovo and Bucim are also expecting additional expenditures for the supply of raw materials, and the Alumina factory will be charged $3.4 million extra for alternative transportation routes. The metal and electrical industries will have to pay $3.1 million additional for alternative transportation across Burgas, Varna, Drac, and Istanbul, and the two "FAM" [not further specified] deals with a Japanese company and Korea, Egypt, and Iraq will cost them additional $140,000. The situation in EMO-Ohrid is similar, and by the end of the year damages will amount to $500,000. OHIS, which succeeded in finding new markets in Asian countries, will have to increase its costs by 50 percent, and this chemical giant has raw materials in the amount of $400,000 being held up in Thessaloniki Harbor, alongside 13 tons of goods worth $12,600. "Hemteks" was forced to stop production because it couldn't get hold of raw materials held hostage on a ship in Thessaloniki, worth 1 million German marks.

### No Alternative

"Strumicanka" will face the most irreconcilible situation in the textile branch; its production and distribution is 90 percent oriented to Greek companies, which will engender damages of $12 million. "Makedonka" from Stip will experience damages of $2.7 million because it also has made import-export deals with Greek partners. Knitted fabric companies have 100 tons of knitting materials worth $600,000 held up in Thessaloniki Harbor, and "Prespateks" from Resen has 33 tons of knitting and other materials worth $200,000 being held up. The leather-working sector has been affected by a blockade from two sides, according to the chamber's

observations. There are 18 containers of Australian leather for the needs of "Godel" and "Dimko Mitrev" valued at $300,000 and assembly firms that have made deals will have to pay 30 to 40 percent more for alternative transportation.

Railway transportation, according to the findings of the Skopje Railway Transport company, will experience monthly losses of $8 million, and by the end of the year damages will amount to $80 million, while public cargo transportation losses are calculated at 14 million German marks. The transportation companies are multiplying their expenditures by three from the very start, and the opinion is that the alternative transport through Albania is almost impossible, because it is difficult to negotiate and cooperate with them. This problem has been stressed in particular by the Tehnomental-Vardar, Inteks, Gradinar Lozar, and Javor companies from Bitola, because, as they say, it will have negative repercussions not only on trade, but also on supplies for domestic producers.

These circumstances have compelled economists to be unanimous in their request for opening the northern corridor (transit across the rump Yugoslavia), and they asked the government to persist in that. The Bulgarians have already fought for that, although only for humanitarian products. Although economists do not give up the idea of constructing an east-west corridor (Albania-Bulgaria-Turkey); still the most convenient solution for our economy is to open the transit to the north, regardless of how much more expensive it might be (its opening is expected to cause new transit prices)—nevertheless, it does not have an alternative as a transit point for some products and sectors.

### Commentary on Greek Measures To Solve Dispute

*AU0803151394 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Mar 94 p 2*

[Commentary by S. Jovanovska: "Greek List of Wishes"]

[Text] In agreement with the folk proverb "The hungry dream of full plates," our neighbor, Greece, is once again sending us dramatic announcements. These range from the announcement that this week will be conclusive for the Macedonian-Greek negotiations, that mediator Vance has already prepared a memorandum that Skopje and Athens have to support, that Delors and Van den Broek have prepared their "formulas" for solving the crisis after the Greek closure of the borders, that the European mediator will again visit Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], to a possible meeting between Papoulias and Crvenkovski in Brussels or Geneva.

According to what we could learn from reliable Macedonian sources, nothing can be expected from all these dramatic announcements. That is to say, there is no Vance memorandum and Macedonia has not been informed of it, and even laymen can be assured by reading between the lines that it is comparable to a Greek list of wishes and another testing "balloon" for us and the European Union. According to the mentioned memorandum, Macedonia should agree to withdraw the symbols [Star of Vergina on FYROM flag], alter the Constitution where it deals with care for the minorities abroad, and guarantee the borders—all as a precondition for placing the name issue under international arbitration. This had no chance hitherto, and the Macedonian side was never asked directly to do that. In return, Greece should lift the embargo and the "veto" from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, from the European Union, and NATO, to which Macedonia is waiting to be admitted. Also, some other benefits could be allotted to it [Macedonia] if it fulfills some of the conditions that are not so dramatic for us, and that were not acceptable when recognition of this state was at stake. However, NATO is present in Macedonia with the presence of the U.S. troops, and all European countries can give the country their help separately, and not as members of the Union (some have already done that), and the Republic is already present in the CSCE, regardless of the status it has been given.

According to all this, all the drama has but one goal—to return the Macedonian-Greek dispute to the European Union, and instead of reviewing the closure of the borders as a legal problem (which it really is), it is adding a political dimension to it, because the main defense of official Athens is based on this trump, contained in the two articles of the Maastricht agreement. That is, in the case of a threat to the stability of this region, it is possible to close the borders with a particular neighboring country, although it says "in consultation with other EU countries." The way matters are now, it is evident that these efforts are not echoed in Brussels, where the closure of the borders is seen as an internal question and as a violation of the regulations signed by all the member states, starting from those on free trade and the transfer of services, up to the fact that the Greek border also represents a EU border.

All this speaks in favor of the announcement that this week will really be conclusive, but for Greece, which could definitely be put on the agenda of the European Justice Court. What we are particularly interested in is the possible, though not yet scheduled, meeting between Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski and Cyrus Vance in Geneva, after he has met and talked to Greek Foreign Minister Carolos Papoulias. It is also sure that our position will remain the same, and it means that we are constantly ready to talk about all disputed questions—"a basket" that has already been offered a few times so far, in which there is no "item" on the change of the name of Macedonia, regardless of how much Greece wants it and of what it is capable of doing to achieve it.

## Federal

### Milosevic Holds Talks With U.S. Envoy Redman

*LD0803152994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has received Charles Redman, U.S. President Clinton's special envoy, who arrived in Belgrade today. They exchanged views on the current phase of the peace process in Bosnia, particularly in light of the Washington agreement on creating a Muslim-Croat federation.

After an hour and a half of talks with Milosevic, Redman said: "We have reached a very important phase in the process, which should result in a comprehensive solution to the Bosnian conflict, something that will contribute to the stability of the entire region."

Recalling U.S. involvement in the peace process in Bosnia and the agreement on a Muslim-Croat federation, Redman said things on the ground were progressing successfully, adding in support of this claim that the disengagement of Muslim and Croat forces had already begun in central Bosnia.

"Today's talks with President Milosevic were the first exchange of views," Redman said, and added: "My intention was to be sure that President Slobodan Milosevic fully acknowledged and understood what we are doing in the Muslim-Croat agreement."

According to the special envoy of the U.S. President, it is time to work quickly to find a comprehensive solution to the Bosnian conflict: "We believe that all regional elements can play an important role in seeking a comprehensive solution. We believe that President Milosevic, as well as other regional leaders, will be actively involved in the second phase of the peace process." [passage omitted]

### Redman Briefs Journalists

*AU0803152494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Report by Jelena Hinic]

[Text] After an hour of talks with Serbian President Milosevic, which were held behind closed doors, Charles Redman [U.S. President's special envoy] made a statement for journalists. Jelena Hinic reports:

[Hinic] Redman said that the peace negotiations are going though a very important stage and that all the protagonists are trying to find comprehensive solutions for Bosnia-Herzegovina, which, as he said, will bring more stability to the entire region. He said that the United States' efforts concerning an agreement between the Bosnian Croats and Muslims have yielded fruit. He also positively assessed reports that the military forces in central Bosnia are withdrawing from the front lines.

Redman said that the agreement between the Bosnian Croats and Muslims is not enough and that a comprehensive solution for Bosnia also requires the participation of the Bosnian Serbs.

In reply to the question of whether President Milosevic supported this plan during today's talks, Redman said:

[Begin Redman recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The negotiations today were of course still preliminary, but I wanted to be sure that President Milosevic understands what we are trying to do with the Bosnian Muslims and Croats. Our intention is to work, I hope rapidly, in the direction of an overall solution on Bosnia. We believe that all the regional protagonists play an important role in the work on this agreement. We expect President Milosevic and other leaders in the region to take a very active part in this, as we are now trying to move to the second phase in the solution-searching process. [end recording]

[Hinic] Answering a journalist's question on whether there was any mention in the talks of a possible confederation of the former Yugoslav republics, Redman said that such plans did not exist at this moment. He said that the central issue for the Bosnian Serbs at present is whether they accept the offer to join the Muslim-Croat confederation. However, regardless of this answer, important decisions must be made on territories, because it was the question of territories that have been blocking all solutions to Bosnia so far, Redman said.

We should now determine how the different sides in Bosnia will build relations among themselves. This is something that they must agree on themselves, U.S. envoy Charles Redman stressed in conclusion.

### Milosevic Comments

*LD0803164094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Belgrade, 8 March (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Srpska republic, today received Charles Redman, President Clinton's special envoy for the Balkans. The talks related to the developments in the peace process.

President Milosevic said the Croat-Muslim agreement was their internal affair and there was no reason for anyone to dispute it as long as it did not impinge on the interests of the Serb side—and all the more so if its was aimed at achieving peace.

At the same time it is understood that no political obligations on the Serb side could be inferred from the agreement, since the Serb side was not taking part in its preparation. Since the final agreement has not yet been reached, but has only been announced, it is impossible to take a final position on it.

President Milosevic stressed he expected the United States to make efforts towards the suspension of economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, since the Serb side had accepted the European Union's peace plan, to which the United States and Russia had also given support. Such an action by the United States would be in the spirit of impartiality and equal treatment of all three sides in the conflict, which is of crucial importance for the lasting resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

The Srpska republic will continue to make a contribution towards peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and to support efforts aimed at achieving it, in keeping with its principle that nations should be able to exercise their unalienable rights and protect their national interests on an equal basis.

### Lilic: Muslim-Croat Federation 'Could Not Work'

*LD0803191094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1725 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Banja Luka, March 8 (TANJUG)—President of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) Zoran Lilic said he hoped peace would soon be restored in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"If the war continues, the danger of its spilling is very real, and this means a war in the Balkans and Europe, not to go anywhere further," Lilic said in an interview published by the Banja Luka paper GLAS SRPSKI on Tuesday.

He said last week's U.S.-brokered agreement on a Moslem-Croat federation in Bosnia simply could not work, adding it was wrong to exclude the Serbs from the talks.

Unless it is aimed against the Serb side, it should not bother anyone in the Bosnian Serb republic or Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav president said.

Bosnian Croats and Moslems started the 23-month-old war as allies against local Serbs, but have later turned against each other in an attempt to win more territory. Acting under the U.S. pressure, they met in Washington last week to sign a preliminary deal on forming a federation in Bosnia, which would subsequently form a confederation with neighbouring Croatia.

Political analysts say Washington has opted for this initiative in an attempt to isolate the Serbs before pressurizing them at the conference table to make more territorial concessions.

Arguing that the war had been imposed on Bosnian Serbs, Lilic said: "Were it for the Serbs, the war would never have started ... anyway, they have not been fighting for months." [as received]

"Bosnian Serbs had no other choice but to defend their homes and their very existence, and Yugoslavs had no other choice but to support Bosnian Serbs in their just struggle for survival," Lilic said.

"International media had been demonizing Bosnian Serbs and fabricating lies about them although all relevant international factors are very well aware that Bosnian Serbs have been trying very hard from the very outset of the war to help find a peaceful settlement as soon as possible."

To show their readiness to conclude peace, the Serbs have so far offered considerable territorial concessions to the Moslems, withdrawn their heavy artillery from around Sarajevo and agreed, on certain conditions, that the city be administered by the United Nations, but this has not satisfied the Moslems, Lilic said.

### Jovanovic on Consequences of Airspace Violations

*LD0803210694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2005 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] New York, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—"During the period 20-25 February, NATO planes violated the airspace of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] on several occasions, threatening its sovereignty and territorial integrity, with possible unforeseeable consequences," Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic says in a letter forwarded to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali on Tuesday.

Jovanovic draws the secretary general's attention to the fact that the airspace violations took place in the area of Boka Kotorska and near Uzice and Kraljevo, and said this was an integral part of a campaign of continuous pressure on the Serb nation.

"We are particularly concerned because all this is happening under the auspices of the United Nations and because nothing has been done yet to stop such provocations," the letter says. "If these violations continue they could spark off incidents with unforeseeable consequences for the security of not only the FRY but also the entire Balkan region, including the peace process aimed at ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Jovanovic appealed to Butrus-Ghali to take appropriate measures within the framework of the United Nations and NATO to prevent "such dangerous provocations" in the future.

### Minister on CSCE Intervention, Minority Issues

*LD0803183594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] Belgrade, March 8 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will not allow the arrival of permanent missions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in its territory until it is readmitted as a full member of this organization because this country refuses to be an object which will only carry out decisions which it has not made, the Yugoslav Minister for Human Rights and Rights of Minorities, Margit Savovic, said on Tuesday.

She, however, underscored that this stand does not mean that certain missions will not be allowed to come, but only on condition that they announce they are arriving in Yugoslavia, and not in Kosovo (Serbia's southern province), Vojvodina (Serbia's northern province) or the Raska region (southeast region in Serbia, Turkish name Sandzak).

Savovic said that there had been attempts that the activities of permanent missions be carried out by the representatives of several embassies in Yugoslavia, who had even submitted reports about their findings. They were, however, warned that this is out of the question.

Yugoslavia also cannot accept the proposal by a Swedish independent foundation that U.N. civilian rule be imposed in Kosovo due to the alleged human rights violations in this Serbian province, because this represents an attempt to internationalize the situation in Kosovo and impose a U.N. protectorate in Yugoslavia, the minister said.

The same or similar reasons exist for refusing a permanent UNESCO representative in Kosovo to help organize the situation in the province's education system, because this is an internal affair which should be resolved through talks rather than internationalization, Savovic said.

For decades the Albanian separatists in Kosovo have been trying to secede this province from Serbia, i.e. Yugoslavia, and annex it to neighbouring Albania. The Albanian separatists are also using classical terrorist tactics of attacking the police and army.

A letter by the Islamic Organization Conference to the U.N. Security Council about the violation of the human rights of the allegedly indigenous 'Bosnian Moslem' population in Raska (Sandzak), also represents interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs together with a statement by Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic that the so-called 'Moslem national council of Sandzak' should be included in the talks on the resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, Savovic said.

Raska is a region divided between Montenegro, Serbia and the ex- Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is mainly populated by Moslems. Extremist Moslem leaders are persistently trying to annex this region to the Bosnian Moslem territories. Throughout the entire war in Bosnia, the Raska Moslems have supplied the Bosnian Moslems with weapons and manpower.

The Yugoslav human rights minister said that the Yugoslav government would write to the U.N. Human Rights Commission to deny a draft resolution by this commission, as well as 84 letters to this international body, about the alleged human rights violations and ethnic cleansing in Vojvodina and southern Baranja.

Hungarians are the biggest ethnic majority in the Vojvodina province and they enjoy the same rights as all Yugoslav citizens.

Asked about the work of the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague, Savovic said that this court would be more acceptable if it had a universal character, and did not deal solely with war crimes committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Savovic said that lists consisting mainly of Serb names are being compiled for the Hague court and underscored that Yugoslavia will not extradite its citizens because this is prohibited by its constitution. All war criminals will be tried in Yugoslav courts according to Yugoslav laws.

### German Official Defends Deportation Decision

*AU0803162094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] We have just received the following statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

The charge d'affairs of the German Embassy in Belgrade was summoned to the Federal Ministry today. He was asked to explain the German Government's decision on the mass deportation of Yugoslav citizens from Germany.

The German charge d'affairs stressed that the media reports on the expulsion of a large number of people were unfounded, that the number of the so-called asylum-seekers was not so large, and that deportation measures would be applied only against those who are in Germany illegally.

The German charge d'affairs was told that the method announced to deport the Yugoslavs is not acceptable, that it would represent the violation of human rights and international conventions, and that the deportation measures have been adopted in a discriminatory fashion without prior consultations with the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on solving complex humanitarian problems. The Federal Government has taken certain steps with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees with regard to this issue.

### Air Corridors Reopen for FYROM, Slovene Planes

*LD0903120794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1126 GMT 9 Mar 94*

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—Airlines from The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] and Slovenia will again use air corridors over the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), after they announced settling of their dues over which the Belgrade flight control denied to provide them with its services as of March 1.

"The ban on flights over the F.R.Y. is still in force for some Turkish airlines, but the talks are underway and we hope the matter will be resolved to mutual satisfaction," said Branko Bilbija, the director of the Federal Flight Control Office.

He said that several national airlines tried to avoid paying the office's service fees by invoking international sanctions against the F.R.Y.

In the overall debt of millions of dollars incurred to the Federal Flight Control Office, Macedonia's share is said to amount to 2.5 million dollars.

Bilbija underscored that no U.N. Security Council's resolution banned flying through the F.R.Y. airspace, using or paying for the services of the Belgrade flight control.

He said that charging the airlines for their services was the only source of the office's income, which they spend on equipment and wages. Owing to that, he added, they maintained very high technical, technological and security standards.

The Federal Flight Control Office report said that during 1993, 150,000 aircraft owned by 150 world airlines had used the F.R.Y. air routes.

In May 1992, the U.N. Security Council banned international flights of the Yugoslav JAT Airlines.

## Kosovo

### LDK Condemns Police Murder, 'State Terror'

*AU0803213794 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] The Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] Presidency has issued a communique condemning the Serbian police acts in Fushe-Kosova, which resulted in the killing of Faik Maloku and seriously wounding Xhevat Bajzaku.

The LDK Presidency expresses its condemnation and profoundest indignation against the campaign of organized state crime and terror that is being waged against Albanians throughout Kosova.

### Serbs Evict Scientists From Pristina Academy

*AU0803213694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Mar 94*

[Text] We have just been informed from Prishtina that a Serbian paramilitary unit tonight broke into the Albanological Institute in Prishtina. The unit forcibly evicted the scientific employees of this institution from their offices. You will have more details in following newscasts.

### Academy To Continue Activity

*AU0803214194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Mar 94*

[Text] A statement issued by the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosova states that despite the sequestration of the building by the Serbian authorities, this highest scientific institution will continue with its public activity.

This public statement confirms that there has been concrete support from the European Academy of Sciences and other scientific academies, which is encouraging and show their high regard. These academies are maintaining their contacts with the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the republic of Kosova by rejecting the repressive acts of the Serbian regime against it.

This statement expresses special gratitude to the Academy of Arts of Albania and high-level political personalities, who, by denouncing this particular and repressive act of the Serbian regime, express their solidarity with the academy and its future work.